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QUEEN'S QUARTERLY



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THE ELEMENTS.

THERE are probably over a million different sorts of matter known to-day. Yet chemists have succeeded in showing that they are all built up, in various ways, out of combinations of two or more fundamental substances, of which there are about ninety. It has been found impossible to reduce the number of these by attempts to show that some of them are themselves compounds of others. Hence they are regarded as elements, by which name indeed they go in Chemistry. A study of the proportions in which elements enter into compounds brought out a very important law, first stated by Dalton in 1808. According to this law, each element has associated with it a certain number which may be called its combining weight. Whenever two or more elements form a compound, the quantities of these elements are in the ratio of their combining weights, or in the ratio of some simple multiples of these. Thus the combining weight of carbon is 12.0 and of oxygen 16.0. In carbon monoxide the proportion of carbon to oxygen is found to be 12.0 to 16.0, while in carbon dioxide, the proportion is 12.0 to twice 16.0.

The discovery of this law gave a big impetus to the molecular hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, matter is not infinitely divisible in the sense that the parts will have the same properties as the whole, no matter how far the subdivision be carried. All matter is supposed to be built up out of very small, but still finite particles called molecules. These molecules are the bricks, so as to speak, out of which matter is built. Each molecule is an exact replica of every other molecule (of the same substance) and is a self-contained group of two, or more, atoms of the constituent elements. These atoms are the ultimate indivisible units in all chemical processes. Thus the carbon monoxide molecule is made up of one carbon atom and

one oxygen atom, while the carbon dioxide molecule is made up of one carbon atom and two oxygen atoms. On the molecular hypothesis, the gases carbon dioxide and carbon monoxide differ from each other because they are made up of different molecules. It is easily seen now why Dalton's law holds, if, for example, we assign a weight 12.0 to the carbon atom and a weight 16.0 to the oxygen atom.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the molecular hypothesis of matter, in particular that of the gaseous form of matter, received strong support from an entirely different standpoint. The idea arose that the physical properties of gases could be explained on the assumption that a gas consists of a very large number of particles (i.e. molecules) in violent motion, constantly colliding with each other. For example, the pressure of a gas on the walls of the container is explained as being due to the successive impacts of thousands of molecules per second. The impacts follow each other so quickly as to give rise to a steady pressure, as one may readily understand from the analogy of a target subjected to a rain of bullets from a machine gun. The fact that the theory of the nature of gases could account for the many different physical properties of a gas, not only qualitatively, but also quantitatively (a much more exacting test of any theory) was a powerful support for the truth of the molecular hypothesis.

Though the triumphs of the molecular hypothesis had been many at the opening of the nineteenth century, and then again toward the middle, it appeared to be somewhat unproductive towards the end. Indeed a strong school of physical chemists, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, proposed discarding it as being of but little use in pointing the way to further developments, for this, after all, is the principal use of a theory. But the molecular hypothesis was far from dead. The very decade which saw the growing tendency to let it pass into the category of theories which have had their day, saw also the beginning of an amazing series of investigations destined to bring the molecular hypothesis again to the forefront so that at the present time we have a more vivid conviction of its truth than ever before. To-day we believe that atoms and molecules are as real as matter which we can see and handle.

What are these atoms? We saw that Chemistry had been able to analyse the multitude of more or less complex substances into about ninety elements. Small as this number is compared with the number of compounds and mixtures which can be built up out of them, the scientific mind is loth to accept as many as ninety independent variables. The frontal attack on the problem by attempts to show that some of the elements are compounds made up of a few others, failed, and so indirect

THE PERIODIC TABLE

	0	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII		
1 H 1.008	2 He 3.99	3 Li 6.94	4 Be 9.1	5 B 11.0	6 C 12.00	7 N 14.01	8 O 16.00	9 F 19.0			
	10 Ne 20.2	11 Na 23.00	12 Mg 24.32	13 Al 27.1	14 Si 28.3	15 P 31.04	16 S 32.06	17 Cl 35.46			
	18 A 39.88	19 K 39.10	20 Ca 40.07	21 Sc 44.1	22 Ti 48.1	23 V 51.0	24 Cr 52.0	25 Mn 54.93	26 Fe 55.84	27 Co 58.97	28 Ni 58.68
	---------- ----------	29 Cu 63.57	30 Zn. 65.37	31 Ga 69.9	32 Ge 72.5	33 As 74.96	34 Se 79.2	35 Br 79.92			
	36 Kr 82.92	37 Rb 85.45	38 Sr 87.63	39 Y 88.7	40 Zr 90.6	41 Nb 93.5	42 Mo 96.0	43 — ----------	44 Ru 101.7	45 Rh 102.9	46 Pd 106.7
	---------- ----------	47 Ag 107.88	48 Cd 112.40	49 In 114.8	50 Sn 118.7	51 Sb 120.2	52 Te 127.5	53 J 126.92			
	54 X 130.2	55 Cs 132.81	56 Ba 137.37	57 La 139.0	58 Ce 140.25	59 Pr 140.6	60 Nd 144.3	61-62 Sm 150.4	63 Eu 152	64 Gd 157.3	65 Tb 159.2 66 Ds 162.5
	67 Ho 163.5	68 Ev 167.7	69 Tu 168.5	70 Yb 173.5	71 Lu 175.0	72 — -------	73 Ta 181.5	74 W 184.0	75 — ----------	76 Os 190.9	77 Ir 193.1 78 Pt 195.2
	---------- ----------	79 Au 197.2	80 Hg 200.6	81 Tl 204.0	82 Pb 207.20	83 Bi 208.0	84 Po (210.0)	85 — ----------			
	86 Em 222.0	87 — ----------	88 Ra 226.0	89 Ac (227)	90 Th 232.5	Ur X2 (234)	92 Ur 238.2	---------- ----------			

Fig. 1

methods received attention. The most important and well established quantitative factor characteristic of each element is its atomic weight. We can display our elements in a list starting out with hydrogen, the lightest, whose atomic weight is 1.008, and ending up with uranium, whose atomic weight is 238. We can then note the properties of each and try to see whether these properties are distributed in a haphazard fash-

ion or whether there is some sort of system. To Mendelejeef must be given the credit for the most successful attempt to classify the elements. He arranged the elements in the form of a table, known as the Periodic Table, which in its own way summarizes our knowledge of the properties of the elements. This is reproduced in Fig. 1. The elements are arranged in order of increasing atomic weight (which is shown *below* each symbol). All the elements in the same vertical column have very similar properties. Thus the elements in Column 0 are characterized by their inertness, they will not enter into chemical combustion. The elements in Column 1 are, on the contrary, active chemically, and, moreover, they resemble one another closely in their chemical behaviour. One might take other properties, such as ease of melting, toughness, etc., and show the similarity between the elements in the same column. On the other hand, if we confine our attention to elements in the same horizontal *row,* we find that any quality, e.g. ease of melting, changes rapidly as we go from one element to the next. If now we go to the next row, we find, with respect to the same quality, a close repetition of the sequence. This is another way, of course, of saying that elements in the same column behave similarly. The table goes by the name of the Periodic Table because it represents a periodicity, or repetition, in the properties of the elements as we pass from one row to the next. It will be noticed in general that a sequence of eight is needed before a repetition occurs. The Periodic Table has to be accounted for on any theory of atomic structure. It is clear that models of the atoms of elements in the same column must have some common characteristic.

The next step towards the modern atomic theories was the discovery of the electron. Up to 1897, nothing smaller than the hydrogen atom had been found. A series of researches on the passage of electricity through extremely rarefied gases however led to the discovery of the electron carrying a negative charge of electricity, and having a mass nearly 2000 times smaller than that of the hydrogen atom. This was a discovery of first class importance. Further work led to the view that electrons permeated all matter. The reason why the all prevalent electrons had not been discovered earlier was that the

conditions for separating them from atoms had not been found. Though the atom is small (about one hundred millionth part of an inch in diameter) the negative electron is far smaller, being about a hundred thousand times less. The electron is incidentally the unit or "atom" of electricity. No subdivision of electricity into an amount smaller than the electron is possible. Any given quantity of electricity is made up of a whole number of these electrons.

It is now believed that all atoms are built up out of these negative electrons, in other words, matter, as we know it, is a manifestation of electricity. However as the atom is electrically neutral, at least in its normal state, there must be an amount of positive electricity present in each atom in sufficient amount to neutralize the negative electrons. This led to the idea of positive electrons. The existence of positive electrons has not been proved in so direct a manner as that of negative electricity, i.e., negative electrons have been isolated from matter, positive electrons have not. Nevertheless, there is satisfactory indirect evidence that they exist. The problem then, for the builder of atomic models, is to construct out of these positive and negative electrons a picture of the atom which will account for the atom's properties. At first, no knowledge was available as to the probable dimensions of the positive electron, while it was pretty well known that the negative electron was of insignificant dimensions compared with the atom. One of the first theories put forward was that the positive electron was a sphere of positive electricity occupying the whole volume of the atom with the tiny negative electrons arranged in some kind of order inside. One may visualize this model as a currant loaf moulded into something like a sphere in shape, to represent the atom, in which the bread portion represents the uniformly diffused positive electron while the currants (which should be far smaller to give an idea of proportion) represent the negative electrons. This theory had eventually to be dropped as a result of some experiments by Sir Ernest Rutherford, which showed that the positive electron, far from being diffused throughout the atom, was concentrated into one speck at the centre, and occupied a space even smaller than that occupied by the negative electron. This new

type of atom resembles the solar system in that the electrons are held in their orbits by an attraction due to the positive nucleus varying inversely as the square of the distance, exactly the same law as that which holds the planets in their orbits in the solar system. Indeed one can well compare the atom to the whole solar system, with the sun for a positive nucleus and the planets for the negative electrons. It will be seen then that the atom is mostly empty space! (This is verified by the fact that a negative electron of very high speed can usually shoot right through an atom without disturbing it. On the rare occasions when the quickly moving electron happens to make a direct hit on one of the constituent electrons of the atom, this electron is torn out of the atom.)

Let us now for a while consider the phenomena of radioactivity. This subject was opened up about 1897 through the discovery of radium by Madame Curie. Radium was found to emit continuously a radiation of some kind which had the properties, among other things, of affecting photographic plates, and rendering the air a conductor of electricity. This radiation was investigated and after some years it was shown to consist of three entirely separate radiations termed the α, β and γ radiations. The β radiation was found to be a stream of negative electrons travelling with very high speed (much higher than can be produced artificially in the laboratory). The α radiation, on the other hand, proved to be a stream of positively charged particles, also moving with very high velocity. Experiment showed that each α particle possessed a charge of *two* units of positive electricity (the charge on the negative electron being taken as the unit of negative electricity). A most important discovery was that the α particle was in reality an atom of the well-known gas helium. To be correct, however, we ought to say that the α particle becomes a helium atom after it has expended its speed and picked up two negative electrons so that the two unit negative charges due to these just balance the doubly charged α particle, and so we get a normal uncharged atom. The α particle is merely the nucleus of a helium atom, travelling at a very high speed. The γ radiations, unlike the α and β radiations, are not material at all. They are X-rays, of an extremely penetrating kind. X-

rays and γ rays are merely waves in the æther just like light waves but whose wave length is a thousand times shorter. A discovery of the greatest importance was made when it was found that radium was constantly changing into an entirely different substance, viz. a gas, called radium emanation, whose properties are very similar to those of the known inert gases, argon, helium, etc., and absolutely different from the parent substance, radium. If one realizes that the whole trend of work of the nineteenth century had been more and more strongly to emphasize the eternal immutability of the atom, the discarding of the alchemist's dream of transmuting one element into another as being a piece of foolishness like unto the quest after a perpetual motion machine, one can see what a shock to one's ideas of atoms this discovery was. Concentrated effort, mainly directed by the genius of Sir Ernest Rutherford, then at McGill University, soon showed that this change of radium into radium emanation was not a single isolated exception to the general rule. Radium emanation itself is constantly changing into radium *A* (*RaA*) and *RaA* into *RaB* and so on to *RaF*, which is turning into something like ordinary lead. But even radium itself, however, is not the beginning of this series, for it is a descendant through several generations from the heaviest known element, uranium. Methods for measuring the average "life" of these radioactive elements were developed. An extraordinary variation was found between the lives of the different radioactive elements. The life of uranium is measured in millions of years, that of radium is about 2000 years, and that of radium emanation is nearly four days. One radioactive element has a life as short as one-five hundredth part of a second. We thus realize what an enormous variation there is in the careers of these elements.

It was mentioned in an earlier paragraph that radium emitted α, β and γ rays. Radium under ordinary conditions contains not only radium but also its descendants *RaEm*, *RaA*, and so on, and they all contribute to the radiation. Careful experiment showed that any one product emitted either an α particle or a β particle in the course of its transformation, but not both.

The uranium series of radioactive elements has now been completely worked out and is shown in Fig. 2.

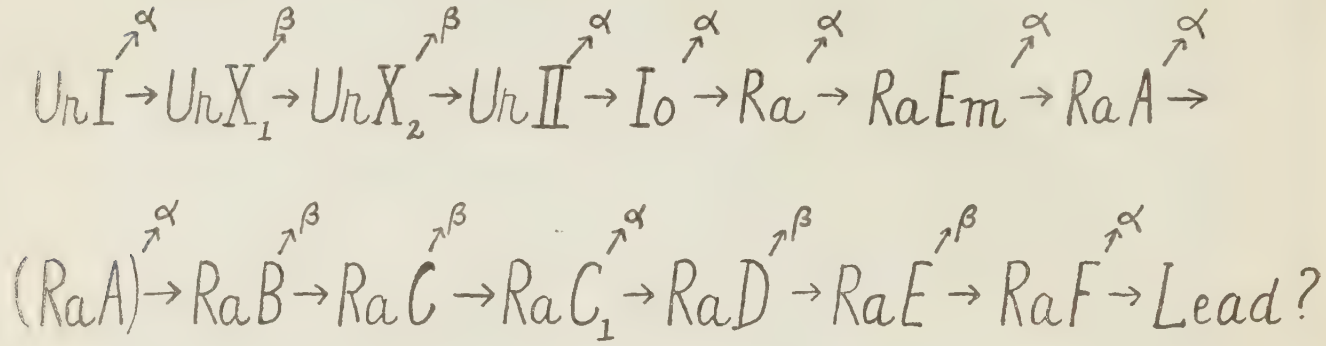


Fig. 2

This diagram tells us that when an atom of the element ionium (*Io*) for example changes into the succeeding element radium (*Ra*), it does so, with the expulsion of an α particle, while the change of an atom of *RaE* to *RaF* is accompanied by the expulsion of a β particle. (It should be mentioned that the irregularity in nomenclature of these new elements is due to the fact that, in several cases, later work showed that another element had to be inserted between what were thought to be successive elements.) Disregarding uranium which had been known for some time, there are no less than thirteen new elements according to the scheme shown in Fig. 2. Apart from the uranium series, there are two other known series of radioactive elements, the actinium series and the thorium series. Radioactivity has added over thirty new elements to our list. Each of these radioactive elements has definite chemical and physical properties which therefore allow it to be classified in the Periodic Table. We now come to a result of the highest importance. The position of any radioactive element in the Periodic Table was found to be associated in a remarkable manner with the nature of the radiation accompanying its production from its parent element. Whenever a change is accompanied by an α particle emission, the new element falls into a column of the Periodic Table, *two* places to the *left* of its parent, while if it is accompanied by a β particle emission, it falls into a column *one* place to the *right* of its parent. When we remember that an α particle carries *two* units (positive) charges and a β particle carries *one* unit

(negative) charge, this suggests irresistibly that the position of a radioactive element in the Periodic Table is determined in some way by the total charge on the nucleus. (Both the α and β particles are known to come from the nucleus of the atom. The nucleus is supposed to consist of units of positive and negative electricity closely packed together, the positive being in excess, and the excess determining the resultant positive charge on the nucleus.) The diagram in Fig. 3 illustrates the idea better than any long description. If we go back for

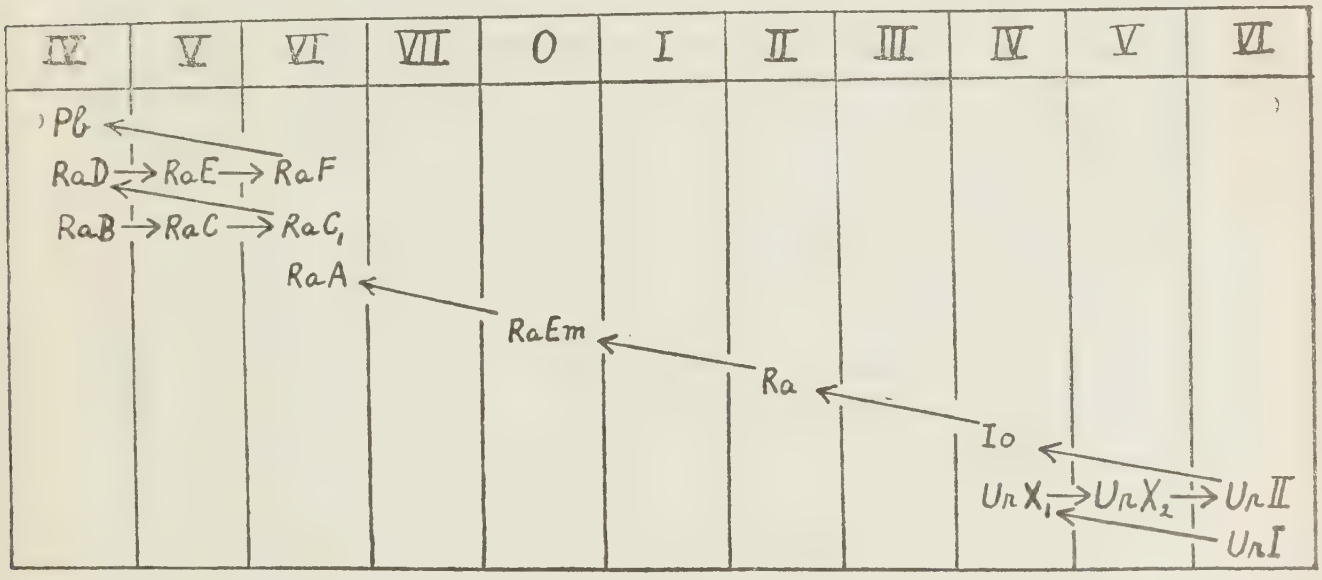


Fig. 3

a moment to the Periodic Table, the regular sequence of the element is along each horizontal row and then to the beginning of the next horizontal row. It will be convenient for our immediate purpose to show that there is no more of a break between the end of one row and the beginning of the next than there is in the middle of a row, by developing part of the table in Fig. 3 where Column 0 comes towards the middle instead of as usual at the left hand end, and showing that Column 0 follows Column VII just as naturally as Column I follows Column 0. Of the fourteen radioactive elements in Fig. 2, three of them have been obtained in sufficient quantity to determine their atomic weight. These are uranium, radium, and radium emanation. The others have properties which enable them to be classified with more or less certainty into their proper columns. As has already been mentioned the very

remarkable fact comes out that every time a radioactive element changes into another accompanied by the loss of an α particle, the new element has a position two columns to the left, while if the change is one accompanied by the loss of a β particle the new element has a place one column to the right. Still another result of interest.

A β particle being a negative electron has a mass one-two thousandth part of that of the hydrogen atom so that a change accompanied by the loss of a β particle means that the new element has, to all intents and purposes, the same atomic weight as its parent. But it is different when an α particle is lost, for the α particle we saw was nothing other than the helium atom whose atomic weight is 4. Hence each succeeding element should be four units of atomic weight less when an α particle transformation occurs. Fortunately this view can be checked as we know accurately by direct experiment the atomic weights of uranium, radium, and radium emanation. Radium emanation is found to have an atomic weight of exactly four units less than that of radium, as it ought to have, for the transformation is accompanied by the loss of an α particle. Uranium changes into radium through a series involving the loss of three α particles and two β particles. As the latter have no effect on the atomic weight, the atomic weight of radium should be $3\times4=12$ units less than that of uranium. This is found to be the case exactly. We can now feel some confidence in extending the rules. The "end product" (i.e. the unknown substance into which *RaF*, the last of the series, changes) is produced from *RaEm* through intermediate elements accompanied altogether by five α particle changes and four β particle changes. As before, we only take notice of the α ray changes for atomic weights. Hence the "end product" should have an atomic weight less than that of radium by $5\times4=20$ units, giving 206. Now the atomic weight of common lead is 207.1. It seems therefore probable from both the nearness of the values of the atomic weight, and also from the position occupied in the table, that the "end product" of the radium series is simply lead.

The atom on our modern theory is supposed to contain a positive nucleus surrounded by a number of negative electrons,

the total electric charge on the nucleus being equal and opposite to the sum of the electric charges on the negative electrons. Consequently the total charge on the nucleus expressed in units will be equal to the number of negative electrons grouped about it. Thus the charge on the nucleus of an atom with 12 electrons around the nucleus would be 12. The nucleus itself may contain both positive and negative electrons packed closely together, whose number is unknown, but has to satisfy the condition, that in this example, that the positive electrons exceed the negative electrons by 12, so as to give the nucleus as a whole a positive charge of 12.

The results which we have just been discussing in connexion with radioactive charges suggest that what distinguished an element in one square of the Periodic Table from that in the next square is merely the charge on the nucleus, or, what is equivalent, the total number of electrons outside the nucleus. We have now arrived at a very simplifying notion, that the elements are arranged in the Periodic Table so that each one, as we pass along, has just one more electron than its predecessor. We may therefore label each element in the Periodic Table with a number—a whole number—which denotes the number of electrons it has, and incidentally the number of the square to which it belongs, starting with one for the first square (hydrogen). This number, now known as the "atomic number" is essentially a fundamental thing, and because of its change by unity from one square of the Periodic Table to the next, is to be regarded as more basic than the atomic weight which, though it increases as we move along the Periodic Table, does so in irregular jumps.

So far, the evidence for this theory has only been obtained from an examination of the radioactive elements. One could only conjecture that it applies to the non-radioactive elements also. That the theory is true for the whole of the known elements is due to the magnificent research of Moseley, a young physicist who, alas, was killed at Gallipoli at the age of 27. His death was universally regarded as a great loss to modern physics. Moseley's method may be briefly outlined as follows. It had been known for several years that elements can be induced to give out X rays, when they are bombarded by high-

speed electrons. Each element gives out a separate and distinct type of X-ray. Since the forces which control the emission of X-rays are supposed to be electrical in their origin, i.e. due to the interaction of the charge on the nucleus and the negative electrons, it is readily seen that the magnitude of the charge on the nucleus will be a determining factor for the type of X-ray emitted. Moreover, a simple mathematical expression can be deduced giving the wave length of the X-ray in terms of the charge on the nucleus, or, in other words, the "atomic number" of the element. The work of Moseley showed that this prediction was verified, thus giving strong support to the conception underlying "atomic numbers," as extended to non-radioactive elements as well as to radioactive elements.

The discovery of the transformation of one radioactive element into another was a death blow to the long-established notion of the immutability of the atom and naturally led to the question as to whether it would not be possible to transform one atom into another at will. For example, one might ask with interest, what is necessary to transform lead into gold? The atomic number of gold is 79 and that of lead is 82. On the theory of the atom as it has been outlined, it would be necessary to get the nucleus of the lead atom to part with two α particles. This however would reduce the atomic number by 4 units giving 78 which is the atomic number of platinum (with which one might be reasonably content!) instead of 79. To get gold (79) from platinum (78), one would now have to cause the nucleus of the platinum atom to part with one β particle. Thus the loss of two α particles and one β particle would change lead into gold. Though we see clearly what is necessary (if our theory be correct) we have no notion as to the way in which it could be effected. So far, it has been found to be impossible to control, or modify, any of the known radioactive transformations by any means whatever.

Let us go back to Fig. 3. It is noticed that column VI for example contains *RaA*, RaC_1, and *RaF*, three distinct elements in the radioactive series of transformations. Coming together in the same column of the Periodic Table would imply on general principles that they have similar chemical properties. Not only do they come into the same column, but they must

also be packed into the same square, since the differences in atomic weights are but small compared with the general run of differences between corresponding squares in two separate rows. This would imply identical properties. Experiment shows that they do not merely have similar chemical properties, but that they have *identical* chemical properties. This means that, once mixed, no chemical means could be devised to separate them, and that, but for the accident of their growth and decay as radioactive elements we would never have suspected three different elements to belong to the same square of the Periodic Table. They would have appeared merely as one element whose atomic weight would be the average of the atomic weights of the (unknown) constituents. There are other groups of elements to which the same remarks apply, e.g. in columns IV, V, and VI of Fig. 3.

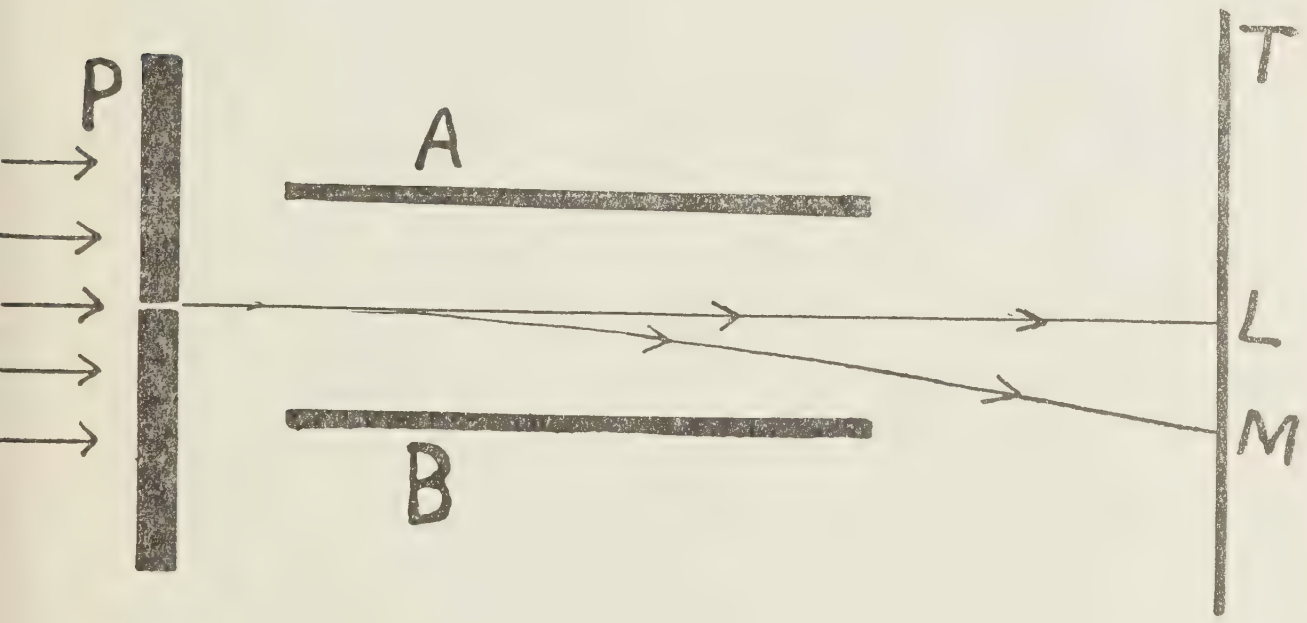


Fig. 4

The study of these new radioactive elements has therefore led to the discovery of the possibility of the existence of different elements possessing identical properties, and chemically inseparable. In fact the only thing that distinguishes one from the other is a slight difference in atomic weight. Elements of this kind have been given the name of *isotopes*. It is conceivable that some of the more common elements might also be mixtures of isotopes. The difficulty however is that, by their

very nature, no chemical process of any sort can possibly separate one from another, and thus their existence may never be suspected. However, in the course of experiments designed to study the properties of positively charged molecules, Sir J. J. Thomson developed experimental methods which distinguished between elements, not by chemical properties, but directly by their atomic weights. Fig. 4 shows the principle of this method. An electric discharge is caused to pass through rarefied gas or vapour in the space to the left of a block of metal *P*, through which there is a very narrow channel. Some of the molecules in the space get electrified and are driven with great speed towards *P*, with which the majority collide and stop. A few however pass down the hole in the form of a ray of positively charged molecules which travel in straight lines towards the photographic plate *T* and make a mark at *L*. Supposing now the metal sheet *A* is electrified positively and *B* negatively, then the positively charged molecules will no longer travel in a straight line, but will be deflected out of their straight line course by the repulsion from *A* and the attraction towards *B*, and so will make a mark on the photographic plate at a place *M*. The amount of the deflection is larger, the smaller the atomic weight of the moving molecule, just for the same reason that a tennis ball is more easily deflected by a sideways blow from its original line of motion than a football. Hence the distance of the mark *M* on the photographic plate from *L* gives us direct information as to the atomic weight of the molecule. It is to be particularly noticed that this gives us the atomic weight of the individual molecules, and not the average atomic weight of a mixture of molecules with the same chemical behaviour, as all previous methods did. A certain gas, neon, was put into the apparatus to determine its atomic weight. The ordinary methods give an atomic weight of 20.2 to neon. However, in this apparatus, there was no evidence of a mark on the photographic plate corresponding to an element of atomic weight 20.2, but there were distinct marks at 20.0 and 22.0. Many repetitions under all sorts of conditions showed this to be a real effect. The conclusion therefore was that the element neon is a mixture of two isotopic elements whose atomic weights are 20.0 and 22.0. The reason why

chemists by their methods obtained a value 20.2 was, first, that the isotopes could not be separated by any known methods and therefore their existence was unsuspected, and secondly, that the lighter isotope was the more plentiful in the proportion of ten to one giving an average atomic weight (20.2) close to, but not identical with, that of the lighter isotope (20.0).

This interesting result led to a systematic attack by Aston on the nature of all the elements. He has already examined about half the elements and finds the most important result that whenever an element has a fractional atomic weight, it is composed of two or more isotopes whose atomic weights are whole numbers. Thus carbon and oxygen have atomic weights of 12.00 and 16.00 respectively, and Ashton finds that they are "pure" elements, that is, they are not mixtures of isotopes. On the other hand chemists find that chlorine has an atomic weight of 35.46. Aston finds from his experiments that chlorine is a mixture of two isotopes of atomic weight 35.0 and 37.0. There is not a single molecule in chlorine with an atomic weight of 35.46. Aston's method allows one to study the atomic weight of individual molecules, the chemical methods, on the other hand, only deal with averages, and hence cannot reveal the atomic weight of isotopes of which an element may consist. Up to the present, every element to which chemists assign an atomic weight which is not exactly a whole number has turned out to be a mixture of isotopes.

The notions of *atomic numbers* and of *isotopic elements* are the two great contributions of the last few years to our knowledge concerning the elements. All the properties of an element are completely determined by the number of electrons arranged about the nucleus, and so this number, the atomic number, must be regarded as the most fundamental single constant for any element. Isotopes on the other hand are elements identical in every property, but differing in atomic weight. The identity of all the properties of the isotopes of any element indicates that isotopes have the same atomic number, that is, they have the nuclei at the centre with the same positive charge, and are surrounded by the same number of electrons arranged in precisely the same way. As the weight

of any atom is almost entirely located in the nucleus, the difference in the atomic weight of isotopes must be attributed to some difference in the nucleus. We saw however how isotopes occurred in the radioactive element; whenever a sequence of radioactive transformations is accompanied by the loss of one α particle and two β particles from the nucleus, thus giving rise to no net loss of charge, we obtain an isotope. It is therefore fair to suppose that atoms of isotopes of the non-radioactive elements have nuclei with the same total positive charge but differing internally in the way in which this is built up out of positive and negative units of electricity.

This briefly is a survey of the progress made in the study of the nature of the elements, a study which incidentally opens to us the apparently far more difficult problem of the structure of the nucleus. A few years ago, Sir Ernest Rutherford suggested that the problem of solving the structure of the nucleus was one for future generations, nevertheless during the last year or two, he has succeeded by means of experiments of great ingenuity, in obtaining data as to the constitution of the nucleus itself. And thus we see—what is the rule in nearly all physical researches—that the successful solution of one problem is but the opening up of innumerable other problems.

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EDWARD GIBBON.*

PERHAPS Gibbon, in undertaking to write his colossal history in the brief span of years at his disposal, was not so rash as one who undertakes to talk about that history in one evening. It is venturing upon the ocean in a tiny skiff. Gibbon is one of the immensities of our literature, not less than that other little-read Englishman, who took all knowledge for his province, not less than our poet, who promises to justify the ways of God to man, indeed, if difficulties of appreciation may be weighed against universality of scope and profundity of matter, Gibbon is, for the average reader, hardly less vasty than Shakespeare. Now it is the fault of our modern criticism to leave out of account the names which cannot be fitted into a pigeon-hole. It is the fault of our reading that we do not read at all the works which may not be read in the leisure time of a month or two at the most. And so the "Decline and Fall," which presupposes a lifetime of classical reading, and at least a great stock of general history, is the shadow of a name to us. There is no help for this. There is no Pelmanism, no logarithmic table which affords a short-cut. And there is no apology possible, perhaps, for one who undertakes such a subject for an evening's discussion. To be sure it would be easy to make some bottomless comparisons between Gibbon and other English historians, or between Gibbon and Ranke, to tell the story of his life, which he himself has told so well, quoting the inevitable passage about sitting in the ruins of the Capitol, and conceiving the plan of his work, and the other passage about the garden house in which he completed it; to make game of his love affair, and his *rencontres* with Johnson. Remembering that this is purely an English Association, one might make the vain abstraction, and leave aside the work to consider its style. It is, of course, out of date to limit one's remarks on Gibbon to an indictment of the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters.

Against these reasons for not making Gibbon the subject of an evening's discussion lies the fact that Gibbon has been more

*A lecture to the English Association, Toronto.

read, possibly, in the last few years than at any time since he wrote. During the war we found it easier to read history than any other form of literature, and all history either led up to Gibbon or away from him. How can we read the opening sentences of Thucydides, in which he states that "this (the Peloponnesian war) was the greatest movement yet known in history, not only of the Hellenes, but of a large part of the barbarian world—I had almost said of mankind"—how can we read this without having our minds thrown forward to movements infinitely greater, the Crusades, the barbarian hordes, the Mahometans, Tamburlaine, in other words, to Gibbon? Again, Thucydides' prediction that like things will follow—"other Dorian wars," revolution begotten by war, and begetting war, which will always be while human nature remains, he adds, and his picture at the end, of the Persian again brought into Hellenic affairs, when the Hellenes had warred one another down to the state of vassalage, how it carries us forward to the still greater suicide of civilization that Gibbon portrays. Take Tacitus again. Tacitus is, of course, embedded in Gibbon; for Tacitus himself lamented the Decline, if not the Fall, and contrasted the simpler and more natural strength of the northern people with the husks of power he saw around him. Of modern history, Gibbon is the very base. It is not the sort of foundation, either, which one must make over before erecting an edifice upon it, unless this be the case with respect to the chapters upon the beginnings of the Mohammedan power. Gibbon is an authority—Freeman said: "whatever else is read, Gibbon must be." Indeed he covered so large and so important a tract of History that one can hardly think of "history" without thinking of the "Decline and Fall."

But there is a further, a more important, reason for Gibbon being so much in our minds, as the events of the last six years begin to unfold themselves to us. Gibbon allotted himself the task of describing what he considered a debacle, a catastrophe, an eclipse of civilization. Early in the war did it not often occur to us that this might be another Peloponnesian struggle, in which the Attic light would again be extinguished, to be followed by another Macedonian penumbra. But at this date who can say that an even worse thing has not befallen?

May not some future historian see in the age which preceded 1914 a time of unrivalled happiness for the generality of men—what Gibbon saw in the age of the Antonines—and in the present anarchy a prelude to the swallowing up of the European system? Let us free our minds of the idea that censure is being passed when we speak of the decay of a political system. John Addington Symonds, critic of more than one evolutionary process in European thought, asks why it is that in the Elizabethan age any Englishman, that is any Englishman of literary power, could express himself in drama, and why this art has been more or less lost to Englishmen ever since, and answers in the accepted Darwinian phrase of his day; that phases of literature like anything organic have their beginning, their periods of growth and periods of decay, that it is an inevitable process no part of which is properly to be lamented. A Munich author, Oswald Spengler, in a work written before the war, a work which most would call as oversystematized as Buckle's, takes the view that Western civilization (by which he means civilization west of Russia) is rapidly disintegrating. His point of view is the examination of the arts and the natural sciences, and he is not much concerned with politics, only slightly with economics. In Russia, however, he thinks he detects the germ of a new *Kulturseele*. Whether or not Symonds and Spengler are right in their views, let us at least take their attitude to the subject matter they are examining, speaking without praise or blame, without regret or pious hope. Even before the war had continued a year any man acquainted with history could see that an epoch had ended. And if such an analysis of the situation might then be denied, and one's knowledge of history doubted, there can be no disputing it now. When epochs end, widespread ruin for the human species is involved. It has been remarked that the mere introduction of currency into Greece caused the starvation of thousands, and many political revolutions. At present millions are starving, political revolutions are the order of the day, and there is not one political system in Europe which is not confessedly bankrupt. Of art I do not feel competent to speak, but perhaps a layman may be allowed to share the view of Spengler that materialism has too much taken hold of life for

art to breathe in it. And on this subject, one word more: when I speak of Europe, let it not be thought that I use the word geographically. It would really seem that some American writers imagine that the European system can go down, and their little piece of it somehow struggle on, like the toes of a decapitated frog! Did the Sicilian cities escape the ruin of Sparta and Athens? Of all the states in the European system America would seem to be the most bankrupt politically. There is no American independence in painting, literature, sculpture or music, though there may be a certain independence in architecture. As to philosophy or thought of any kind, when Americans do seize an idea, it is sure to be one like prohibition, an unoriginal notion now three hundred years out of date in Europe.

But besides these signs of disintegration which we notice from within, the world would seem to be on the eve of one of those eras when movements are made in masses, to a hardly intelligible catchword. There are occasions when a handful of men can conquer millions, and overthrow empires,—Cortez in Mexico, Clive in India. At other times a horde of tribes and nations, who can hardly understand one another, move with an impulse almost blind, to throw the bulwarks of an apparently invincible system.

Vis, consilii expers, mole ruit sua.

Not always. Weight, dead, unwitting, superstitious weight, sometimes conquers. "There is one God, Allah, and Mahomet is the prophet of God." Was anything ever less like intelligence than this fetish, glibly and instantaneously adopted by millions of uncivilized beings? Yet it was a battle cry that won political dominion over half the world. To blame the old European system whose Decline and Fall Gibbon records for inability to protect itself against such *vis consilii expers,* to think that civilization must be able to stand up against barbarism, is simply to deny that there is such a thing as evolution at all. At this moment we seem to be on the eve of mass movements, some of which may be more intelligent than the Mahometan, some of them less so.

The more these thoughts crowd in upon us, the more are we carried back to Gibbon. For Gibbon described movements, political debacles, insurgencies of creed, barbarous inroads, and the annihilation of a civilized system, which were on a scale surpassing anything else on record.

It behoves us to ask what manner of man Gibbon was, how limited, or how wide was his scope, what his outlook was on events and affairs, whether he thought humanity in any sense the master of its destiny. These questions we must ask if we are to pass judgement on Gibbon's ability to guide us over the vast field he covered, his ability to help us guess the direction of the illimitable tendencies he dealt with. Now we know as much about Gibbon as we know about any historian. His Autobiography has often been called the best in our language. His age was moreover given to memoir writing, to elaborate correspondence, to literary coteries and clubs, and the impression our author made upon his contemporaries has been amply recorded. Of all these materials at their disposal, Gibbon's critics have not always made the best use. Gibbon is one of the types of men which are easily ridiculed. He wrote a monumental work, but was himself the prey to certain foibles. In a mere man of fashion, like Horace Walpole, these little weaknesses would not cause a smile, in the author of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire they make us heave with laughter. Incongruity is the essence of humour, and in Gibbon's complexion there were many incongruities; he was at once a wit and oversensitive to witticisms from others, at once calculating and rash, a Spartan in study, an Epicurean in diet, a cool lover but an ardent friend. How easy then to make game of his conversion to Catholicism, his love affair, his militia-life, his support of Lord North, his conversations with Johnson! But it is possible to overdo all this. If any one who had not read and appreciated Gibbon's own writings were to read any average essay on him, he would rise from it with the idea that Gibbon was a selfish, strutting prig, shallow in his affections and judgements, but a glutton for reading, who had somehow—possibly by a sure intuition for what was best in what he read—written one of the world's great histories. I do not mean to say that no one has got nearer to the root of the

matter than that, but that is the general way of thinking. A careful reading of Gibbon's writings, including his private letters, makes it clear that his selfishness lay on the surface. Invalid as child and lad, he had to consider his health and ease, that he might live at all. He himself records that his illnesses mysteriously vanished before he matriculated and entered Magdalen College, but perhaps his involuntary removal from the enervating climate of Oxford to the Alps was the real turning point. Yet he was never anything but valetudinarian; his continuance in the militia to satisfy a scruple of honour was heroic; and in the year 1793, when Europe was war-stricken and he himself old and infirm, he travelled from Lausanne to England to console a friend on the death of his wife. It is undeniable that Gibbon had the coldness of temper that goes with a low physical vitality. But he had two passions which do him credit, one for literature, one for liberty, and here he has enthusiasm to spare. No one has written so finely about his reading as Gibbon. There is an age known to eager schoolboys, when books are magical, when even grammatical rules and algebraic formulae are tinged with romance, when every new chapter, every new subject of study beckons like a fairy, and we are insatiable learners. The Elizabethans are all like this, they are the schoolboys, as the Seldens and Evelyns are the pedants, of our English civilization. Now Gibbon remains Elizabethan and schoolboy always, and the infection and charm of his autobiography largely lies in this that he reminds his readers of their own schoolboy eagerness.

But much the most important thing to notice about Gibbon, if we are to approach the history in the right spirit, is his passion for human liberty. Professor Bury, by far the most learned of Gibbon's editors, is deserving of great praise for his discernment into this aspect of his author. He says: "Liberty was in fact his ultimate standard"—and again: "He was deeply imbued with the humanity which characterized the enlightenment of the eighteenth century." Remembering that Gibbon's training and contemporary reading were French, we can perhaps best elucidate these remarks by allusion to the story of the Calas family and of how Voltaire championed their cause. In the year 1761, in the city of Toulouse, a great

disaster befell a Protestant household. The oldest son, after completing his legal studies, found that he could not, on account of his religion, be called to the bar. The disappointment so weighed on his spirits that he finally committed suicide. The grief-stricken family soon found that this was but the beginning of their sorrows. In Toulouse religious zeal ran high, a Protestant family was at all times suspected of criminal actions, and in this case the bereaved parents were charged with having made away with their son. Another son was charged as an accomplice. In a preliminary trial they were all condemned to the torture. In March, 1762, the father, Jean Calas, was condemned by a final sentence to torture on the rack, to have all his bones broken, and then "to be laid on his back with his face toward heaven, to live so long as God gave him life in pain and repentance." His son was banished. Another son fled the country, and the widow Calas took refuge at a distance from Toulouse. Soon after the final sentence, the story came to the ears of Voltaire, who was then living in Geneva, whither the sons had fled. Voltaire saw reasons from the beginning to doubt the justice of the sentence, but he spent several months collecting evidence before he felt quite satisfied. He then found it difficult to persuade Mme. Calas to co-operate with him in an attempt to have the case appealed. Such were his exertions, however, that after the incessant toil and anxiety of three years, he was able to have the case brought before the King in council, to have the Toulouse judgement reversed, and some compensation made to the unfortunate widow. The Empress of Russia, the Queen of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury were among the subscribers to the fund which Voltaire opened. The story has often been told to the honour of Voltaire, and is always worth repeating, for its own sake. I repeat it here as an illustration of the passion the French writers and thinkers of the day had for the liberty of the individual. A like passion underlies the economic arguments of Turgot. Among these men the Swiss were held up as heroes. Gibbon's own words, "the independence which a brave people (the Swiss) rescued from the house of Austria, defended against a Dauphin of France, and finally sealed with the blood of Charles of Burgundy," might have been written

by any of them. Among the Gauls Latin literature has naturally always been a staple of learning, especially the Latin orators and historians, Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus above all. No written pages contain a purer republicanism. In short, in Gibbon's day, humanitarianism—extending even to the black slaves—liberty, the dignity of the individual, were in the air. Often such phrases were loose and imperfectly understood. Gibbon was perhaps not much in advance of his time, and his good sense and his logic helped him here as elsewhere. Like Tacitus, he knew that it was vain to lament the republic if the spirit which animated it had perished from the breasts of men. He thought the age of the Antonines the happiest for all ranks of men that had existed. But immediately after this comment he points out the "instability of a happiness which depended on the character of a single man."

Gibbon was perhaps the most learned man of his century. Certainly he knew more history than any one else who wrote in that age. For him the greatest obstacle to freedom had been the church. Gibbon had not known the Prussian State, nor Dora. It is interesting to compare with this view that of the most learned historian in the nineteenth century. Lord Acton was a thorough-going lover of freedom, and in his view the church was the cradle of free institutions, and the mediaeval world, when the church was as yet undisturbed by the Reformation, shows human liberty in its most complete form.

Liberty, then, is Gibbon's standard; what is his method of historical writing?

In 1734, Montesquieu published a work on the "Greatness and Decadence of the Romans." His thesis was that this revolution had been subject to general laws, laws capable of being enunciated and understood. Now it has been complained against Gibbon (by Coleridge among others) that while he set out to describe the Decline and Fall, he nowhere attempts to explain it. He limits himself to narrative. True, embedded in the narrative there are materials for the formulation of many laws, but he does not formulate them. And often this provokes our impatience. I consider Professor Bury by far the most learned and by far the wisest of Gibbon's editors. He is also more unreserved in his admiration for Gibbon than

any other editor. But even Professor Bury occasionally loses patience with his author on this score. For example, in his appendix on the chapter in which Gibbon treats Septimius Severus, he is annoyed that the historian does not press conclusions. Why, he asks, does Gibbon not make it clearer that this Emperor hastened on, by his refusal to treat Italy and the Empire separately, the flooding of the prætorian guards with barbarians. (In parenthesis let me add that many think this had more to do with the Decline and Fall than anything else.) Well, why did he not? J. Cotter Morison says that Gibbon rose, through his continuous reading, to a sort of eminence whence the panorama of the past became so clear to him that he was wholly absorbed in it, and had no time for speculation. There is, I believe, much truth in this. There is also much truth in the criticism, frequently urged, that speculation was not a strong point with Gibbon. Still, I feel it would be ridiculous to say Gibbon could not, if he had so chosen, have availed himself of the facts he saw so clearly, such as this one about the legions, to write synthetic chapters on tendencies and influences. He does often digress from the pictures he is so absorbed in, to make generalizing remarks. I am convinced that there is a much better reason for Gibbon's refusal to go into causes and effects. It was simply that his knowledge of his subject was too profound. He has been blamed for his inability to appreciate the enthusiasm of the early Christians, and the enthusiasm of the apostate Julian. But Gibbon at least knew that these enthusiasms into which he could not enter were things which had profoundly and permanently influenced human affairs. He completely grasps the military and political effect of the fanaticism of the Mohammedans. The zeal of the sectarians again he thought ridiculous, but he understood its devastating effects. But to a mind as learned as Gibbon's there soon occurs the question, "How far is anything a cause?" We speak of the barbarian invasions, for example, and we are sure that is a contributing cause. Well, Gibbon knows that the barbarian inroads are part of a very complicated thing. He traces the movements from Italy to China, and back again, from the Baltic to the Don and back again, and leaves us with the clear conviction that no one

motion in Europe or Asia can be called the beginning of the general commotion. Modern investigations only confirm this. But suppose we could name the tribe that first moved. Did it cause the break in the Roman system, or was there a break in the system which caused the tribe to move? Again, the revolution is not merely dual, anarchy without and a disintegrating order within. Gibbon is sometimes thought to have made a formula when he described the Decline and Fall by an alternative title, viz., "the triumph of barbarism and religion." It can easily be shown, however, that he does not mean to say "barbarism and religion caused the revolution." He simply says that at the end of it barbarism and religion were on top. He is clear that political decay, barbarian inroads, and religious zeal do not exhaust the categories of human activity during the time of ferment. For instance, while Gibbon never dreamed of an economic theory of history, he knew much about trade between the empire and the distant east, trade between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, and trade carried on the great Russian rivers. An attack on Constantinople he directly connects with the last of these. Again, there is no more striking sketch of a trend of affairs, than Gibbon's account of image worship. A thing which in its origin is purely artistic at the end is a feud of dimensions sufficient to wreck an empire. But would Gibbon say that an artistic impulse caused the feud? Not he! And so with many, many other things—the monasticism which began in Egypt, the occultism which can be traced to the Roman province of Africa, and so on. All these things are in the complex. It is one of Gibbon's great merits that he lets us see so many of them by themselves, so far as they can be abstracted, refusing to shackle himself with chronology. But he knows very well that abstraction is only for purposes of examination, that all these things are complex, complex in the very warp. Unweave the pattern of it, unravel every thread, and there is still no ultimate beginning. Often one hears it said that Gibbon gave five causes for the spread of Christianity. His precise language is: "It will perhaps appear that it was most effectually favoured and assisted by the following five causes." "Favoured and assisted," and "it will perhaps appear," indicate surely great modesty in tracing an

influence. One cannot say lo here! with a cause, and lo there! with an effect. It is a commonplace that Gibbon's refusal to explain is his chief reason for immortality. It may also be remarked that for all Gibbon's eighteenth century lucidity, and tenacity to the obvious and comprehensible, there is no author who so awakens and feeds our sense of the mystery of things.

I have said something of Gibbon's basis of judgement; much of his method of approaching his subject. We must now examine the execution of his work. Briefly it is not a mere historical textbook—though it is that too—it is a work of art, just as Thucydides' history is a work of art. But Gibbon had an infinitely harder task than Thucydides. His load of learning was the result of a lifetime of reading, and remember how Gibbon read, pen in hand, noting and indexing his notes. His field was not only a vast one, it contained a welter, a ferment of heterogeneous forces. No critic has yet found language adequate to express his admiration of the manner in which Gibbon has reduced this chaos first to order, then to proportion, and then to artistic treatment. By artistic treatment let me state in the briefest possible compass what I mean. There is not one chapter, and not many pages of Gibbon's history which could be taken away without hurting the work. It is not merely that some information would be lost, a mischief would be done his history as a book. This is very high praise—indeed to what other historian but Thucydides can such praise be given? To be sure there are many ancient historians, e.g. Livy, Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, who exist in fragmentary form, through no fault of their own. And there are many modern historians, who planned without counting the cost—Macaulay, Buckle, Acton. As to the proportion of Gibbon's work, I shall have more to say presently. As to order, I have already pointed out that Gibbon avoided the annalistic style, which even Thucydides did not escape. For this skill in treatment Gibbon is undoubtedly indebted to his French training; as Morison says, French too is his lucidity.

It has often been pointed out that there is a disproportion in Gibbon's history. His first three chapters are an introduction to his great subject, and he begins to be chronological with

the accession of Commodus in the year 180 A.D. It is roughly three hundred years therefore, that he has to cover before the fall of the Western Empire. And at that point half of the pages of the "Decline and Fall" have been written. In the remaining half of his work, our author covers a period of roughly nine hundred and eighty years. Different reasons occur to one. Gibbon's classical reading was more Latin than Greek—he is very frank in the Autobiography about the lateness of his Greek studies. Often we condemn the things we are ignorant of. But there were perhaps additional causes for Gibbon despising the Byzantine civilization. It was ultra-theological, and he despised theology. Besides, with his French training he could hardly escape the traditional animus of the Franks against Constantinople. At all events to the reader fresh from Finlay, for example, Gibbon's treatment of Byzantine history seems very inadequate.

There is, too, another sort of disproportion against which no complaint can be made. In the long period covered by the "Decline and Fall," there are naturally some eras for which the historian has very full sources, others for which his resources are most scanty. He is surely not to be blamed for diffuseness merely because he makes full use of his materials. In one case this consideration should have full weight with us, and it may save us from an error of judgment. Gibbon devotes no less than three chapters to Julian the Apostate. As I have said the first half of Gibbon's history goes to a period of three hundred years. And of this half, almost a twelfth is devoted to Julian's reign, which lasted only eighteen months. The disproportion in mere point of time is very marked; and a reader prejudiced by Milman's notes might think that Gibbon is regardless of space when occasion offers to glorify an opponent of Christianity. (A careful reader knows, of course, that Gibbon condemns Julian as much as he condemns the seekers after martyrdom, and for the same reason.) But the fact is that the reign of Julian is better known than almost any other period of like length which Gibbon treats. He had, first of all, Julian's own considerable writings. But he had also the history (not completely extant) of Ammianus Marcellinus. This author is generally disposed of in a few words as "the last

Latin historian of any importance," and the rest of the description given of him leaves us to understand that that importance is not very great. In a brilliant essay Mr. Herbert Fisher has corrected this notion. He thinks that the historical portraits of Ammianus are not surpassed in ancient literature. He yields high praise to his "graphic and vigorous sketches" of the barbarous enemies of the Empire, and to his investigations into their cultivation of the military art. It cannot be argued, nor does Mr. Fisher attempt to do this, that Ammianus is one of the great historians. But he has great historical capacity, and he described as an eye-witness, and as a participant, the twenty-five years between 353 and 378, one of the most momentous, most tragic, and most humanly interesting quarter centuries we know of. Furthermore, he was an historian after Gibbon's own heart. He considered Julian's enthusiasms excessive, and a weakness. He thought ecclesiastical synods a great nuisance, and complained that they interfered with the Post Office department of the Empire. Though he wrote in Latin, he was a Greek, or Syrian Greek, and shows throughout that Greek reserve of statement and judgement which so strongly appealed to the English historian. This is the author, then, whom Gibbon has to guide him, in describing the momentous period when the Goths won their victory at Adrianople, as Marcellinus calls it, the greatest disaster to the Roman state since Cannae; when the Arian dispute was at its height, and showed almost for the first time in history how bloody and demoralizing sectarianism could become; when paganism, rallying in the superstitious but lovable character of the Emperor, made its last stand against official Christianity; when a skilful general, after high hopes and great victories lost his campaign and his life in the East, and enabled a soldier-historian, who was with him, to write a description as vivid as the Anabasis, as tragic as the Retreat from Syracuse. Hence the reason for this instance of disproportion, if it may be so called. (Lord Acton says the most interesting and most unexhausted topic in all history is Julian the Apostate.) Gibbon shows the same wealth of detail in the campaigns of Belisarius; and in the pages devoted to this period there is also a vivid portrayal of the chief characters involved—Jus-

tinian, Belisarius, Theodora, Antonina, and her lover. Once more, the reason is that Gibbon is following a graphic historian, Procopius, who stood in an official relation to both the Emperor and his general, and who scrutinized their characters and those of their wives with a very close eye. That nothing of the edge of his judgement might be lost he wrote, besides an official public history, a private record which he kept in his own desk.

Let us digress here for a moment to the subject of Gibbon's capacity to draw character. Bagehot, who has said some of the best things about Gibbon, has also said some of the worst. His statement that Gibbon's characters have a way of being all alike, is ridiculous. What character of antiquity is more alive than Gibbon's Athanasius? The type of character does not matter—if Gibbon has sufficient material to go on, he generally draws a character that is convincing, whether it be that of a great law-giver, theologian, old maid empress, or the great Norman adventurer in Italy. There are exceptions. Charlemagne is one of note. Here our author had materials that he did not appreciate. In other cases Gibbon perhaps seized upon evidence hardly authentic. His picture of Attila, for example, strikes one as a good representation of the impression Attila made upon his civilized contemporaries. But it can hardly be more accurate than say a yellow Canadian newspaper's delineation of the Kaiser during the war. Again, the striking picture of Mohammed, and some of his successors, is based upon evidence that Prof. Bury dismisses as legendary.

Bagehot's argument is somewhat *a priori*—since Gibbon described institutions and their changes he could not delineate character. But versatility is a striking characteristic of Gibbon. His pages on the Justinian Code are a masterpiece of legalistic writing. The change from dyarchy to monarchy in the Empire is described as though Gibbon were nothing but an historian of constitutions. The chapters on the sects, liturgies, heresies, are the work of a theologian. No military historian has ever described campaigns better. Topography is a very difficult form of literary art. Few do it well. Take as an example *Kampaniengeschichte* by Beloch. Polybius drew a very good picture of Campania, and the work of Polybius lay

open before Beloch as he wrote. But for all this, and in spite of many years spent in studying the country, Beloch gives us no vivid picture. Now Gibbon, whether or not he had been over the ground he describes, is a master of topographical writing.

As to his style proper, the best thing ever said of it was said by Bagehot. He said that the "Decline and Fall" was written in an age when men had ceased to write merely for students, and had not yet begun to write for women. In other words, it is a masculine style, and Morison remarks that as a rule women do not like Gibbon. It is straightforward, not delicate nor subtle. Above all it is not sentimental. It is prose, without lapses into poetic phrase, like those of Tacitus and Carlyle. It is masculine in its vigour, masculine in its appeal to the head rather than to the heart. Many of Gibbon's chapters show very sustained logic, everywhere there is a finely cultivated irony. Women do not like logic, nor do they like ironical writers. Very few women can tolerate Swift, for example, or Samuel Butler.

There are other things to be remarked in Gibbon's style, its lucidity, its sonorous roll, its swiftness of narrative, and dexterity of description, its loftiness, which sometimes approaches a grand solemnity. True, it is a style which cannot handle *des petitesses*. A grave manner was required to treat thirteen hundred years in the civilization of the world, and Gibbon, after settling on what he thought the best style he was capable of, could not lift himself out of the groove in a moment. Hence the pomposity often complained of in his *Memoirs*. It must be remembered that the *Memoirs* were dressed up by Lord Sheffield; but there are instances of the same fault all through the history. At the end of his life, Gibbon planned a revision of his work, and among his papers were found notes on his history showing that he intended to tone down rhetorical passages. But Gibbon's is not a rhetoric that palls. It is possible to read the "Decline and Fall" three times in a year, with a growing admiration for its style. Return to Macaulay and you cannot read him through even once without increasing *ennui*.

I have used words of high praise for our author almost

throughout. But when I come to his merits as an authentic historian, I shall have to praise more loudly still. I suppose that since Gibbon's day there have not lived six men who were competent to judge the historical value of his work as a whole. But there have been thousands of specialists who have been most competent to judge this or that chapter of his work. Professor Bury, who is certainly one of my hypothetical six, has sifted in the most wonderful collection of notes and appendices I have ever read, all that the specialists have said. The result is amazing. It is nearly all praise. There are, of course, hundreds and hundreds of minute corrections. And there are the major things I have already spoken of—his underrating of Byzantine civilization, especially in connexion with the Isaurian dynasty, and the fact that his brilliant picture of the rise of the Mohammedan power is not historical. Gibbon planned as a youth of fifteen to begin the study of Oriental languages, but was dissuaded by his Oxford tutor. Even had he persisted and become an Oriental student, it is questionable whether he could have pierced very far through the ignorance of his century concerning matters Oriental. It was only in 1810 that Niebuhr brushed aside the legendary history of early Rome. But it was not until recently that Europeans knew enough to discredit Al Wakidi's romance on which Gibbon's account of early Mohammedanism is founded. Similarly it was only in the last decade or so that western Europeans knew enough of Russia and the Slavs to realize the inadequacy of Gibbon's treatment of that subject.

An historian may have read much, and be unable to use his materials. He may have no critical insight, he may not know whether an authority is good or bad, or whether he is both good and bad. Now Gibbon's eye was extraordinarily clear; he knew good guides when he found them, such as Ammianus Marcellinus, and Tillemont, and he used them to the full. There is still an endless controversy raging over the subject of Procopius; this was a guide whom Gibbon used warily. In point of time Gibbon is the first great modern historian. But how entirely modern is his use of coins and inscriptions! His historical sense and acumen is at times almost uncanny. In the year 1771, there was published the

first European translation of the *Zend-Avesta*. In England the genuineness of these liturgical writings was generally contested, and there was much scepticism in France. Gibbon pounced down upon the work as a document at once, and made full use of it in his pages on Zoroaster. In 1623 or a little later, a Jesuit missionary, Alvarez Semedo, announced to Europe that a stone had been found at Si-ngan-fu, with inscriptions in Chinese and Syriac, which proved the earliness of Christian missions to China. In Gibbon's day, Voltaire pronounced this a forgery, and it has been so called by Renan in much later times. Gibbon was unhesitating in his acceptance of the inscription as authentic, and Professor Bury says, "All competent specialists, both European and Chinese, now recognize it as a genuine document of the eighth century." In cases like these only genius is sure.

In my endeavour to be brief, I must often have appeared dogmatic. Reading Gibbon should at least teach one to avoid superlatives, and Gibbon's blindness to the significance of both the American and French revolutions, shows us that it is possible even for a very learned historian to miss completely the meaning of contemporary events. And yet I have been so rash as to hazard a guess on present tendencies. Reading Gibbon has not caused the rashness; as I said in the beginning meditation upon present affairs drives one back to Gibbon, and study there rather deters one from venturing any opinion whatever. One final statement which I cannot think rash, one last superlative, which all that I have said may perhaps render less extreme in appearance, I shall allow myself. I shall not apply it to Gibbon. We know Gibbon perhaps too well, and literary prigs from Boswell down have made it easy to speak patronizingly of some aspects of his character. It is easy to revere the grave, aloof Thucydides, whose life we hardly know at all. It is easy to revere a modern like Ranke, of unceasing diligence, stepping aside on his way to the Vatican to acquire a Balkan language, and to contrast this with Gibbon's comment that German itself was a barbarous idiom. Historian or history, it does not matter—

> The work some praise.
> And some the architect.

The "Decline and Fall," as a work of art, as an historical authority, or both; considered for its subject matter, considered for the treatment of that subject, or from both of these considerations; from every angle of criticism, the "Decline and Fall" must be pronounced the greatest history extant.

CARLETON W. STANLEY.

OUR WINGED ALLIES.

MAN has elected himself lord of creation, but quite frequently he is reminded that the vote was not unanimous. Several very considerable groups of animals show by convincing actions that they have no respect for man's claim, and that he must frequently demonstrate his power both to take and to keep what he desires of earth's products. The other forms of life which, with ourselves, are directly or indirectly parasitic on the plant world, may be arranged in ascending order in the form of a tree. The upper parts may or may not have arisen from the lower portions, but at any rate the arrangement indicates a gradually but not uniformly increasing complexity of structure, and advance in intelligence. But instinct, that mysterious half sister of intelligence, makes formidable the lower groups, and whether we consider it the inherited memories of the race, or specially implanted knowledge, it is an effectual substitute for both intelligence and education.

At the base of our tree of classification are the Protozoa, the simplest of animals, showing some 4,000 kinds of one-celled creatures. Above them are the colonial forms, such as the Sponges, about 700 kinds. Near and probably related are the Flatworms, 1,700 kinds, and the Coelenterates, 3,000 kinds, of which several produce corals. Above these, but showing some relationship in their radiate symmetry, are the Starfish and Sea Urchins, 3,000 species, and the Rotifers and Segmented Worms, 2,000 species. Here we reach creatures having bilateral symmetry—the Molluscs, 25,000 sorts of them, and the Crustaceans, about 6,000 kinds. On the same great branch above the Crustaceans are two groups, the Spiders, containing perhaps 4,000 species, and the other, the most formidable order of animal life, the Insects, of which about 250,000 kinds are known, and this is believed to be not more than one-fourth of the species now existing. Not alone in number of kinds but in numbers of individuals of each kind, is this the most threatening of contestants for the fruits of the earth. On another stem of our tree of life are the back-boned creatures, Fishes 13,000 kinds, Amphibians 700 kinds, Reptiles 3,000 kinds, Birds 10,000 kinds, and Mammals 3,500 kinds.

Among the different classes named, man needs to recognize his friends and his enemies. All will obey nature's prime law, and will struggle for an existence, and in doing so will destroy more or less of the available food in the world. Which of these groups will be direct rivals of mankind, seeking the food which man himself requires, and on which of them can man depend for aid against these rivals, by attacking, killing and eating them? Of all the invertebrate groups we find only one which seems to threaten seriously man's rule and welfare. The insects—by their wonderful physical adaptation to their surroundings, by their ability to reproduce themselves at enormous rates, by their prodigious appetites, and their power of withstanding, in some form, extremely wide ranges of temperature—show themselves to be man's formidable rivals for the possession of the earth. It has become a commonplace to be able to destroy by a few shots, a great ship which is so far away as to be almost invisible, but man's victories—even his partial victories—over insect attacks, may be counted on the fingers of one hand.

One invertebrate group, the Spiders, stands as man's ally against the insects, and —while as yet scarcely recognized as a friend —works early and late in building and rebuilding its snares for the common enemy. The other invertebrates are of no economic importance except the Molluscs and Crustaceans which are eaten by man, and those others which furnish food for fishes. The vertebrates may largely be accounted as allies, —the fish destroying enormous numbers of insect larvae, while amphibians and reptiles live almost entirely on adult forms. But in the birds we recognize our very best friends, especially qualified to give us both gratification to eye and ear, and the much-needed assistance in restraining the swarming millions of insects. If the inactive toad or frog is worth two dollars per year to the gardener, what indemnity shall we fix for the nuthatch, creeper, and vireo searching our trees from roots to branch tip for eggs, larvae, or winged insect, or the swallow and martin sweeping the galleries of the air and appearing at the nest every ten minutes with a new captive?

By glancing over the different groups of birds we may reach a better conception of the gratitude we should feel for these our allies, and the support and encouragement we should

give them. In arranging birds in groups which show their relationships, we begin with those which make their homes and find food and safety in, or almost in, the water. The first group is that of the Pygopodes or Divers, including Grebes, Loons and Auks. These are all fish eaters, although no doubt Grebes eat numbers of insects and larvae in the fishless ponds in which they often raise their broods.

The second order of birds is that known as Longipennes or Long-winged Swimmers, including the Gulls and Terns. Many of these are insect eaters, especially Franklin's Gull, which feed on the worms, grubs and grasshopper enemies of our prairie farmers. The Black Tern also deserves its name of Sea Swallow from its habit of hawking over our marshes, and living to some extent on insect food. The Tubinares are haunters of the deep seas, tireless fliers and probably of no economic value. The Fulmars, Shearwaters and Petrels belong to the waters off our Atlantic coast. The next order—the Steganopodes—includes the swimmers which have all four toes united by webs. These are the Gannets, Cormorants and Pelicans. All of these are fish eaters, and some of them have been accused of injuring the salmon fisheries, but intelligent study of the matter proves them to be beneficent through their destruction of worthless fish, and quite harmless under all ordinary circumstances.

The order Anseres includes what are commonly called the Waterfowls, and we must acknowledge our past and present debt to the Swans, Ducks and Geese as direct providers of food. A few of the ducks eat small fish and shell fish, but the enormous numbers of insects they destroy, especially in the larval stage, place them among our benefactors from this point of view also.

The deep water waders are called Herodiones, and include as common Canadian birds only the Herons and Bitterns. Bitterns are poor fliers and find safety by standing silently with mottled yellowish and brownish body, neck, head and long, sharp bill quite erect. Among the reeds and cattails a sharp eye is required to distinguish this stick-like structure from the similar objects about. The bittern's food is frogs, snakes and fish, but certainly none of value. The Blue and the Green Herons also live on fish, batrachians and insects found in shallow open water.

The next order, Paludicolae, comprises the birds which walk over the soft marsh borders of lakes and ponds. Cranes are long as to toes, legs, necks and bills, while the Rails and Gallinules have long toes but very moderate legs and necks. Their food consists chiefly of the insects found about marshes, along with wild rice and other vegetable matter. The Sandhill Cranes quite frequently visit grain fields after harvest, and with the Rails are counted as game birds.

The Shore Birds, Limicolae, have long been a favorite group with sportsmen, both for the pleasure afforded in hunting them and the very delicate flesh which they furnish. Their destruction has been extremely rapid in most species, because each new generation, coming south from their wilderness hatcheries, often within the arctic circle, learns wisdom only when their dense flocks have been decimated by the breechloader. These plovers, snipe, and woodcock live apparently on soft-bodied worms and insect larvae, found in or on the soil of waste lands and the margins of lakes and oceans. They are certainly harmless and may well be considered beneficial.

We now come to birds which make their homes, obtain their food, and raise their young with slight reference to bodies of water. The Gallinae, or Earth Scratchers, are entirely land birds, unable to swim, and they get their food—insects and seeds—entirely from the soil. Our poultry yard is stocked with tamed Gallus banciva, descendants of the red jungle fowl of India, and with turkeys of the species which ran wild in Texas and Mexico. To the farmer these birds are of great importance since their food consists of seeds, fruit and insects. Fortunately weed seeds and waste grain form the great bulk of their vegetable ration, while some of them, particularly the quail and turkey, feed largely upon injurious insects. The Bob-white feeds freely on the potato beetle, wire worms, and cut worms, while hundreds of grasshoppers are consumed per hour as a flock of young turkeys traverse a meadow or pasture.

The next group is that called Raptores, including eagles, hawks, owls and vultures. Many other kinds of birds are rapacious, but no others are so well equipped for capturing and killing other birds, as well as small animals, and even fish. In spite of their highly specialized beaks and claws, our Canadian

hawks, with very few exceptions, are mild and beneficial birds; only one of our owls is persistently injurious, while in no part of our country are eagles or vultures a menace. The hawks known as the Sharpshin and Cooper's or the Duck hawk and Pigeon hawk, are destructive of valuable insectivorous birds, while the Gyrfalcon kills large numbers of the grouse of the northern wilderness. The Great Horned Owl visits and revisits the poultry yard, carrying away even turkeys and geese, and if these are not available attacking any of the other birds of our woodlands. All the other hawks and owls live upon the vermin which are such pests to agriculturists. Mice, rats, moles, grasshoppers, beetles, crickets, spiders and frogs are their usual bill of fare, and in the capture of these they are very persevering and skilful. The false idea, born of ignorance, that the killing of hawks and owls is meritorious is an anachronism, and should be banished to that limbo which has finally received, we hope, the hunting of the wren and other such cruel superstitions.

The Coccyges form a group in which are birds showing but few similarities,—the cuckoos and the kingfishers. The cuckoos are heard more frequently than seen, being fond of dense thickets of shrubs, from which their call is heard in the late springtime. They live upon insects, and deserve our protection because of their unusual courage in eating largely of hairy caterpillars, especially those which defoliate our trees. European cuckoos are parasites, dropping their unwelcome eggs into the nests of small birds. Canadian cuckoos seldom do this, but build their own nests and rear their young in the orthodox manner. The Kingfishers live on small fish, but do little harm except possibly in streams planted with troutlings. Their food is mostly the coarse and useless minnow and perch which would certainly feed on the eggs of better fish.

The order Pici includes our carpenter birds, the woodpeckers. Ignorance, and the hereditary barbarism which prompts us to kill, have made these birds the targets for that destructive combination—a boy with a gun. We now know that, with one exception, the woodpeckers are interested in a tree, only that they may relieve it of its insect parasites. The exception is the Sapsucker, which punctures the protecting cork covering of several kinds of trees, and leaves them open

to fungus infection, after it has eaten away the cortex and cambium which in the spring are filled with sugar or starch. The perforations may form a girdle about the trunk, and quite often result in the death of a valuable tree. The Yellowhammer or Flicker has taken to the ground and lives largely on the contents of anthills. The wooden homes of the woodpeckers are frequently accepted by other birds, after one season of occupancy by the builders. Bluebirds, swallows, flycatchers, and the small owls show their respect for the ability of these avian architects, and suggest to us their desire for a shelter which we may easily provide for them.

The order Macrochires have, as the name indicates, wings that are large in proportion to the weight of the body. The Nighthawks and Whip-poor-wills, the Chimney Swifts, and the Hummingbirds make up a group showing little similarity. The first two are known as goatsuckers, probably from their wide mouths, and habit of haunting pasture fields in the twilight. Their food, like that of all the other members of the group, is the insect life they capture while on the wing. The Hummingbird takes also the nectar of flowers along with their small insect visitors.

We now come to the last and largest order of birds, the Passeres or Perching Birds, containing nearly as many kinds as all the other orders together, and among them those best known and most important to man. Nearly all have calls for their mates and companions, and many produce distinctly musical songs, repeated at long or at short intervals. The Flycatchers differ from other insect eaters in their habit of watching for their prey and darting upon it from a prominent perch, to which they usually return again and again. Their food is commonly captured near the ground while flying, but wingless forms are not despised. These eminently useful birds are known to us as Phoebes, Peewees, Kingbirds, and such Flycatchers as the Crested, the Scissor-tailed, the Olive-sided and several others. Some build their homes about houses and bridges, others in small trees in open fields, while others prefer the depths of the forests. Moths, caterpillars, ants, wasps, flies, crickets and grasshoppers make up their common bill of fare.

In Canada we have only one species of Lark, although it

varies in shade and size. Those found in the forested districts of the east are large and dark with strong plumage markings, while the prairie varieties are smaller and paler. The Horned Lark is about one-half larger than the house sparrow, with grayish upper plumage, yellow throat with a black spot across the breast and a black horn-like tuft above each eye. It has a slight but sweet song in early Spring, and is a valuable destroyer of weed seeds in the open fields from which the snow is disappearing.

The Crow Family play important parts in almost all regions of the world, and are prominent and well-known birds. It includes the Raven, Crow, Magpie, and Jay in Canada. Ravens are plentiful near fishing villages in Western Nova Scotia, but avoid all evidences of civilization in the interior of the continent, retreating before the lumberman and prospector. The crows, on the contrary, thrive in agricultural districts. Magpies belong to the western plains, while jays inhabit forested regions. All the family are fond of animal food. Ravens attack weak or sickly lambs and live largely on living or dead crabs, lobsters, and fish that may be exposed at low tide. Crows haunt the edge of the water for any kind of animal refuse, searching also the nests of smaller birds for eggs or young, and destroying in late summer enormous numbers of insects, grubs, mice and small reptiles. But they are practically omnivorous, and are hated by farmers because of their vicious habit of pulling up and eating the sprouting grains, and also opening and eating the ripening ears of maize. Jays live largely on acorns and beech nuts, but also take eggs and young birds from the nests, and in winter will steal any kind of grain, especially maize. It is as yet impossible to say on which side of our account with this family the debit lies, and it quite certainly varies with the district and the season. Their intelligence will prevent their suffering any loss which might excite alarm.

Our group of Blackbirds, which also includes the clear-voiced oriole, and the so-called meadow lark, comprises at least two distinctly harmful species. These are the bronze grackle, which destroys the young of many musical and insectivorous birds, and the cowbird, which is entirely parasitic in the matter of rearing its young. By dropping its eggs into the nest of

some smaller bird, the cowbird usually secures for each of its offspring the entire industry of a pair of foster parents. The young cowbird, by its precocity, absorbs nearly all the food brought to the nest, and soon pushes overboard the legitimate nestlings, which are thus all sacrificed for the sake of the one intruder. By a surprisingly acute instinct, the young cowbird deserts its misguided foster parents, and joins with the flocks of its own kind before the autumn migration. The red-shouldered starling, the bobolink, the oriole and the meadow lark are favorites with all, destroying our plant and insect enemies and providing joyous bird music.

The Sparrow family includes the Grosbeaks, Snow Buntings, Finches, Crossbills, Redpolls, Siskins and Longspurs, as well as Goldfinches and Sparrows. All have strong and mostly conical bills, that of the grosbeaks being clumsily large, while the tips are curved and crossed in the crossbills. They are all seed eaters, but feed their young nestlings with insects. All of the list except goldfinches and sparrows come to southern Ontario only as visitors during winter and spring, and gather the seeds and fruits left uncovered by the snow. Many are bright coloured, and a few, such as the Rose-breasted Grosbeak and the Purple Finch, have very pleasing songs. Excepting that ill-mannered immigrant—the house sparrow—the whole family is worthy of our protection and encouragement. The pine and the cardinal grosbeaks of the above group, and the scarlet tanager are among our most notable examples of seasonal plumage changes. The adult males in spring are brilliant in suits of red, which gradually changes during summer to match the greenish yellows and browns of the females. The latter may well be considered as wearing a protective coloration, when we consider how seldom we see or recognize the females as compared with our familiarity with the males.

The family of Swallows should have our very special care. They eat nothing of value to man, but destroy enormous quantities of insects caught on the wing over pastures, grain fields, ponds and farm yards. With a little encouragement they will form colonies about farm buildings. The purple martin takes very kindly to bird houses placed on tall poles or on buildings, and their graceful flight and pleasant gurgling notes are among the most satisfactory associations of summer in town or country.

Waxwings wear perfectly-fitting suits of quaker brown, but their well-marked crests and alert attitudes, and particularly the white wing marks and the garrulity of the erratic Bohemian waxwing neutralize any suggestion of passivity. A small fraction of their food may be cultivated fruits, but by far the greater part consists of harmful insects and waste wild fruits. The Shrikes destroy some desirable small birds, but this may be balanced by their attacks on mice, crickets and grasshoppers in summer and house sparrows in winter. Vireos or Greenlets are small greenish brown birds which live almost entirely on the insects which infest our trees, particularly the slender branches and leaves. Some of these inconspicuous friends of man may be heard singing almost continuously throughout the brightest and warmest hours of midday.

The Wood Warblers are in general small in size and wear brightly marked plumage. They are unknown to the ordinary unobservant person, but are worthy objects of delightful woodland walks to those initiated into the charms of bird study. An opera glass is required to make clear their markings, and when the warblers can be recognized and named without a gun, the fortunate person having this ability may consider himself an amateur naturalist. They are all insect eaters, inhabiting groves and the higher parts of trees.

The most notable of our Canadian singing birds are the catbird and the brown thrasher. The former is smoky gray in colour and usually sings from the shelter of a thicket. Its relation to the mocking-bird is shown in its power of mimicry by which the songs of other birds are reproduced in clear, melodious and continued strains. The thrasher sings usually from a prominent spray or the top of a small tree, and its song rivals that of the catbird. Both of these birds live largely upon injurious insects and wild fruits, occasionally visiting the cultivated raspberries. Wrens require no description or introduction because their busy singing, scolding, insect-catching lives are so often closely associated with our houses, outbuildings, and orchards. A box, tin can or broken flower pot may be made the centre of amusing and beneficial activity as well as most cheerful music if we will locate it in a reasonably secluded but accessible place. The marsh wrens build many globular nests among the cattails, and sing delightfully as they

rise in short flights. Nuthatches and chickadees are seen in southern Canada, mostly in the late fall and winter, the former searching the trunks of trees, the latter the smaller branches, for insects or their eggs or cocoons.

Canadian thrushes are, with a few notable exceptions, shy birds of deep thickets, or evergreen forests, from which their ringing but liquid notes may be heard at sunset. Our robin and bluebird are the members of the family which have shown a decided preference for the vicinity of man's buildings and orchards. Here they gratify his eye and ear from early spring until forced by cold and hunger to migrate southward. The robin may become a nuisance where small fruits are raised for market, but almost all its annual activity is for the benefit and pleasure of its human neighbours, in whom it has such confidence. Nearly one-half its food is known to be of insects and worms, and except for a few weeks the remainder is of wild fruits. Few of us can show so excellent a life record as these cheerful and tuneful allies.

Civilization is so new and superficial that we nearly all retain, during at least our early years, a well-marked fondness for destroying vegetable and animal life. The larger and more conspicuous the creature we kill the greater the satisfaction afforded by this assertion of our power. The felling of a tree is still considered by some as a virtuous and almost heroic act. Most birds are unsuspicious of man and readily permit his approach to within killing range. Only by long-continued experience of man's death-dealing ways are they taught to avoid his neighbourhood. As a result there has been an alarming reduction in the numbers of insect-eating birds as progress has been made in the efficiency and cheapness of firearms. In many districts the balance of natural control of insect pests has been lost, with the result that vegetation has been consumed, the normal industries interrupted, and famine prevented only by strenuous national efforts. Another rather important enemy of our most friendly birds is the domestic cat. These creatures are now recognized as comparatively useless and quite unnecessary as destroyers of vermin, but efficient in carrying diseases and in killing our bird neighbours.

The destruction of our winged allies therefore rests on a tripod—ignorance, savagery, and the sentimental encourage-

ment of harmful, useless pet animals. We may hope to upset this in time, in spite of those ultra-conservative individuals who will continue to worship at the shrine of ancestral qualities, however absurd or objectionable.

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THE NATIVE TRADITION IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH LITERATURE.

IN none of the literatures of Europe can the presence and the interaction of native and acquired characteristics be examined over so protracted a period and with such profit to the enquirer as in English literature. The mingling of indigenous and foreign elements here is a commonplace when applied to the literature of the Elizabethan age which cannot be even superficially studied without regard to the clash and convergence of its strangely assorted origins. But it is less easy, though equally necessary, to consider the whole of English literature in that light. It may be harder to sift native and foreign in the Romantic period than in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, harder still to treat contemporary literature in this way, but at whatever point the analysis is made the results are so satisfying, so fundamental, that the attempt is justified even by a half-success.

It is worth noting in passing that the Romantic movement which was leading men in all parts of Europe back to their own soil and their own deeper traditions seems to have carried the English mind in the other direction. The coming into English painting of exotic colour contrasts and of Continental subjects, the Italian glow that suffuses Shelley and Keats and Byron, are features of the movement which contrast oddly with the *Lyrical Ballads* and with the novels of Scott.

This distraction of interest at so vital a time may help to explain why the Romantic movement failed to transmit any guiding impulse to the imagination of the Victorian age, which like the eighteenth century derives its unity rather from its thought than from its poetic creations. There is no common movement of the imagination at this time. The native strain is strong here and there, as in Hazlitt, Borrow, or Dickens, or it is absent, as in Landor, Pater, and Rossetti, or—and this is more important—it is thwarted or confused in some of the greatest writers of the age, in Tennyson, in Meredith, in William Morris, perhaps also in George Eliot and Browning. If

the Victorian age with all its known ripeness of intellectual life seems somehow half-hearted to the English imagination to-day it may be for such reasons as these.

It is not till the nineties, when the Victorian age was as good as over, that the native springs of English literature are felt to be trickling once more. Regarding the whole output of imaginative writing at this time it would seem as if the influence of the continent of Europe upon the island literature was never stronger. The realistic stage drama, which was essentially Scandinavian, and the realistic novel, which was essentially French, were establishing a foothold in England which they have, on the whole, maintained till to-day.

It is only in English poetry that the deeper native impulses can be detected. The first name to be mentioned, as almost always in any consideration of the more energetic aspects of modern English literature, is that of Thomas Hardy, the "most autochthonous of living writers" in Quiller-Couch's phrase. Hardy is probably the most English thing in English literature since Wordsworth, but there was a time when he was regarded in another light. It is therefore worth while remembering that in his preface to *Desperate Remedies* in 1896 Hardy observes "that certain characteristics which provoked most discussion in my latest story were present in this my first-published in 1871 when there was no French name for them," and that the strangely independent poems which he began to write as early as the sixties were influenced where they were influenced at all by the Elizabethans and by William Barnes.

Perhaps it is in virtue of this native quality in Hardy that instead of passing over into the twentieth century as a relic of the nineteenth he found himself actually in advance of the younger generation. The clearest starting-point for the poetry of twentieth-century England is in the *Wessex Poems* of 1898 —and in one other, yet slenderer volume, A. E. Housman's *Shropshire Lad,* published two years earlier. Appearing at a time when English lyrical poetry was dominated by Verlaine and the rest of the *symbolistes,* when it was more exquisite and less English than it had been for tens of years, these two volumes contain in essence all that was to prove characteristic

of the new poetry. In freedom of rhythm and diction, in depth and in directness, the younger poets have not yet come out of the shadow of these two elder writers. The *Wessex Poems* are uncouthly English like the work of some Elizabethan who had not come wholly under the refining spell of Petrarch; they recall Wyatt or Donne in their rougher moments. The *Shropshire Lad,* on the other hand, is one of those rare works in modern English in which the native inspiration blends perfectly and without loss with a literary influence from without. The Greek anthology unites itself as naturally with the ballad-moods of the West country in this wonderful little collection of verses as Italy and England united in the spirit of Spenser.

In the best of the poems of Hardy and Housman, in *Friends Beyond* and in *Unknowing,* in *Is my team ploughing?* and in *Be still, my soul, be still!* there is an unconventionality that is far more than technical. It goes to the roots of the moral nature. These poems speak with a frankness and a vigour that had completely disappeared from English poetry; they brush aside the niceties of diction that were hampering poetry; they are totally free from the self-conscious unconventionalities of the *Yellow Book.* They are as English as English yews and hazels.

The native tradition in modern English literature subsequent to these two volumes comes out strongest in C. M. Doughty, W. H. Hudson, and Edward Thomas. Doughty creates his large figures with no thought of anything but island Britain; Hudson* interprets rural England with a spiritual insight that puts him among the poets; and Edward Thomas, who had felt the spell of both these men, wrote before he died the most English of contemporary lyrics.

Doughty is only now coming into his reputation as a poet. He already has a secure place in English literature with his *Travels in Arabia Deserta* which established him thirty years ago as an intrepid traveller and as a unique prose writer. The nature of his prose is very significant in view of the poetry that he began to publish about a dozen years ago. It is Eliza-

*For Hudson's enthusiastic appreciation of *The Dawn in Britain* see his book, *The Land's End.*

bethan prose without any admixture of modern syntax. It is incorrect to describe it as archaic, for that implies a harking-back, whereas Doughty seems always to have lived in the age in which his style would place him.

Doughty's poetry, which is more difficult to approach, can be truly described as an attempt to create a poetic style out of the native English tongue as it was conditioned when such prose first began to be written. In the author's note to *The Dawn in Britain,* Doughty's longest and most important poem, published in 1906, it is stated that "its Anglecism, or linguistic horizon, is that nearly of the days of Spenser", and the reader is led to assume that Doughty had mentally taken the position of a contemporary of *The Shepherd's Calendar* and of the Areopagus who desired neither the predominance of rhyme nor that of Classical quantity in English verse but upheld the Saxon vocabulary and stresses of the native tradition. The blank verse of *The Dawn in Britain* and virtually of the whole of Doughty's poetry is such as might conceivably have arisen in Elizabethan times before the introduction of the Italian sonnet and all that it meant for the development of English verse. It appears fully matured in Doughty's earliest lines, with all his marked peculiarities of syntax, idiom, and punctuation, and the earnestness of his experiment alone entitles him to a careful consideration. It is no trifling poet who can speak thus of the tongue he uses:

> Further, it is the prerogative of every lover of his Country, to use the instrument of his thought, which is the Mother-tongue, with propriety and distinction; to keep that reverently clean and bright, which lies at the root of his mental life, and so, by extension, of the life of the Community: putting away all impotent and disloyal vility of speech, which is no uncertain token of a people's decadence.

The Dawn in Britain follows the adventures of British Gauls through the sack of Rome and Delphi and then returns to the island to interweave the tale of the Roman wars in Britain with the conjectural coming of the first Christians to Avalon. The basis of this quite remarkable poem is actual and historical; it can hardly fail to retain its position in literature merely on the strength of its reconstruction of the life and customs of early and Roman Britain and in lesser

degree of Western Europe. This unsentimental, unlegendary, unromantic attitude makes *The Dawn in Britain* significant as a modern poem. It is conceived in too capacious a spirit to exclude incidental mythology, whether Celtic or Christian, too simple a spirit to make allegory of it. The poem is neither rationalist nor symbolist, but is such as an Elizabethan chronicler-poet might have written, if he had had the fruits of nineteenth-century research to help him. Doughty is probably the closest living student of Tacitus and Camden. Those who enjoy Livy—and who does not?—cannot fail to appreciate Doughty, whose close affinity with Livy was detected as soon as *The Dawn in Britain* appeared. The Gauls' passage of the Alps indicates as well as anything in the poem Doughty's sturdy realism, his Roman feeling for grandeur, his Northern feeling for the early world before men.

There is, indeed, something of an Alpine passage about the reading of this rough-cast epic. It knows neither garden trimness nor paved roads, but its greatest incidents are grandly poised like boulders firmed into place by a giant's thumb. The crossing of the Alps, the sailing of the Christians, the Roman campaign, the burden of Caractacus, the marriage of Roman Pudens with Rosmerta are perfectly placed in relation to the whole poem and it is only the shagginess of the detail clinging like tangled undergrowth to a mountain slope, that obscures at moments the impressive outlines of the chain.

The motive power in Doughty's mind seems to have been the desire to do some measure of justice to the Christian origins of British civilization, to cut in behind the Norman Christianity of the Arthurian legend and to spread the roots of English life in the untilled soil of Saxon conversion. He, accordingly, accepts the story of Joseph of Arimathea, the pedestal upon which the Holy Grail stands, and disposes of the Grail in his own way:

> Wherefore, come night, instructed of God's Spirit;
> Put Joseph out, with Pistos, on the lake.
> Tegid, who sought be with him, in the bark;
> He bade still tarry at shore: and rowing Pistos;
> Joseph let, from his bosom, in mid-course,
> To slide, that cup of blessing, in the mere:
> Unto all, even to this day, unknown the place.

This is Doughty's way of criticizing *The Idylls of the King,* and, for that matter, Malory as well. Whether Doughty has succeeded or not, and it is not apparent that he has failed, in re-creating the origins of British Christianity, he has treated the coming of Christianity to British shores as it has never been treated before. For those who have read this poem the word Avalon takes on a new significance.

> Summer is ended: gins now season sad,
> When nights increased, and weary is the ground;
> And hoar dew lies, all day, on the cold grass;
> And falls the flickering leaf. Then Shalum ears,
> On crooked plough-beam leaned, (plough which, in Alban,
> His Syrian hands had wrought,) chill-breathing field:
> And shoulder two wain-oxen the tree forth.
> And lay of Zion this, in his travail, sings.
> And laid up, is his hope, in heaven; that when
> Lent-month's smooth winds shall fill, with tepid showers,
> This furrowed glebe, should spring his Briton grain;
> And, come to Autumn, yield of corn enough,
> That eat the brethren might the blessed loaf,
> In a strange land, of Christ's remembrance, both;
> And have, for alms-deed, mongst poor heathen folk.

The greatest long poem of our time, *The Dynasts,* has richer associations. It reads at times like a modern *Faust* or the work of a modern Aeschylus and rises above time and country altogether. But like all organic poems it must have roots as well as branches and they will be found embedded in English soil. The mood of *The Dynasts* is very much that of Hardy's middle novels; the inexorable, the compassionate, and the insurgent elements in his complex nature are held at arm's length as they are in *The Return of the Native; The Trumpet-Major,* the next novel in date, trenches upon the subject matter of *The Dynasts* and virtually suggested it. And if it is thought that the philosophical choruses have a foreign look it must be remembered that they grow naturally out of the manner of Hardy's early lyrics. When the origins of this extraordinary poem are separated from its affinities they are found to be almost exclusively native.

In ignoring the fine points of verse-making and putting his whole energy into the larger purpose of the poem, Hardy

was only reverting to the instinctive method of the Elizabethan dramatists, though their verses frequently surpassed his. The metrical preoccupations, the polishing of lines and what not, that encrust English poetry again and again are not a home product and they have to be rejected periodically. Words- and Browning did this and in our time Hardy, and in each there is expressed the clash of the English spirit with a tradition that grew gradually out of the Renaissance. This clash can be felt in Doughty too in his different way.

It is easy to see that in *The Dawn in Britain* and in *The Dynasts* which coincides so closely with it in date, English literature has been enriched by the two most energetic long poems that it has seen for many a day. Hardy and Doughty, both of whom have their place in English literature of the nineteenth century by virtue of their prose writings, are by name and nature insular figures. The one chooses what was a few years ago the latest of the great moments in British history and the other chooses what must remain the earliest to which we can have access. One cannot read either of these great poems without experiencing that sense of native continuity which is the truest form of national pride. It is what one is entitled to feel in an English wood or at sight of an old map of London. Indeed it is Europe rather than Britain that they survey, the marriage of Cana, the burning of Rome, the Moscow campaign, the island of Elba, all seen, as it were, from British shores. And the spiritual survey is still wider, the clash of Druid and Christian, of the Pities and the Years. The jingo patriot or doctrinaire Christian who turns to these poems for quotations must tread cautiously or he may find what he does not seek. There is here a human largeness and detachment that is only found in those poems of the past that have become the property of mankind, not of a nation alone, yet no poems of our time are more truly native in origin.

In Doughty's great poem and in the English lore and traditions that are summed up in *The Cliffs* and *The Clouds* there is expressed at its fullest that tendency in the national life to understand its remote past more fully than it has been understood of yore. The revival of interest in English music before Händel (e.g. *The Beggar's Opera*), in English landscape paint-

ing before the Pre-Raphaelites (e.g. Cotman and Crome), in Shakespeare's England, in pageants, in Roman roads, in rural legend, stands for a definite direction of interest in the country's life. On the antiquarian and psychological side this interest comes out strongest in the English books of W. H. Hudson.

Hudson's boyhood was spent, as he tells us in *Far Away and Long Ago,* in the Argentine and he has made his profoundest observations for the philosopher in his South American books, such as *Idle Days in Patagonia.* He seems to have been furthest into nature in the Patagonian desert or the tropical forest, but that does not prevent his English books from being the finest studies of rural English life that have been made in our time and perhaps the sanest and deepest that have ever been made. Hudson claims that he is in a sense a native wherever the grass grows and he has in actual fact seen as deeply into the heart of an English shepherd as Hardy himself.

Such books as *Afoot in England* and *Nature in Downland* are written with so unusual a modesty, so artlessly, that their great worth only grows slowly upon the mind. Hudson's style is one of the purest now being written, but it is utterly unconscious of itself, indifferent to occasional lapses and to occasional graces. It must be allowed to sink in gradually and is indeed not a style at all except in the negative sense that it is a way of writing which is somehow not that of the next writer one happens to pick up after putting Hudson down. And in any case it is not his style that matters most. What does matter is the quiet strength and easy independence of spirit that wells up everywhere in his books like spring water. He confesses that his tastes in literature are limited and he has indicated more than once that his preferences are not always for the greatest writers. He owes most to his chats with English villagers and to his marvellous eye for birds and flowers. His spiritual life seems to have worked itself out in comparative loneliness and he offers it to those who give heed to him as a well of unplumbed depth. It cannot yet be wholly proved, but it can be safely predicted, that he will be felt as a strong creative influence on the imaginative writers in England of to-day and to-morrow. His books will be sure of a wide appeal

because they express without antagonism a new set of spiritual values. His weapon is fresh because he has always lived apart and others will wield it after him.

His musings at Silchester (Roman Calleva probably)—and his works are full of such musings—read like an unconscious manifesto of much that is best in contemporary literature:

> Standing here, knee-deep in the dead ruddy bracken, in the "coloured shade" of the oaks, idly watching the leaves fall fluttering to the ground, thinking in an aimless way of the remains of the two ancient cities before me, the British and the Roman, and of their comparative antiquity, I am struck with the thought that the sweet sensations produced in me by the scene differ in character from the feeling I have had in other solitary places. The peculiar sense of satisfaction, of restfulness, of peace, experienced here is very perfect; but in the wilderness, where man has never been, or has at all events left no trace of his former presence, there is ever a mysterious sense of loneliness, of desolation, underlying our pleasure in nature. Here it seems good to know, or to imagine, that the men I occasionally meet in my solitary rambles, and those I see in the scattered rustic village hard by, are of the same race, and possibly the descendants, of the people who occupied this spot in the remote past—Iberian and Celt, and Roman and Saxon and Dane. If that hard-featured and sour-visaged old gamekeeper, with the cold blue unfriendly eyes, should come upon me here in my hiding-place, and scowl as he is accustomed to do, standing silent before me, gun in hand, to hear my excuses for trespassing in his preserves, I should say (mentally): This man is distinctly English, and his far-off progenitors, somewhere about sixteen hundred years ago, probably assisted at the massacre of the inhabitants of the pleasant little city at my feet. By and by, leaving the ruins, I may meet with other villagers of different features and different colour in hair, skin, and eyes, and of a pleasanter expression; and in them I may see the remote descendants of other older races of men, some who were lords here before the Romans came, and of others before them, even back to Neolithic times.
>
> This, I take it, is a satisfaction, a sweetness and peace to the soul in nature, because it carries with it a sense of the continuity of the human race, its undying vigour, its everlastingness. After all the tempests that have overcome it, through all mutations in such immense stretches of time, how stable it is.

What innumerable echoes this simple passage awakens in the mind from contemporary poets! Take the Roman reference alone:

And midnight clears High Street of all but the ghosts
Of its buried burghees,
From the latest far back to those old Roman hosts
Whose remains one yet sees,
Who loved, laughed, and fought, hailed their friends, drank their toasts
At their meeting-times here, just as these. (Hardy).

The gale, it plies the saplings double,
It blows so hard, 'twill soon be gone:
To-day the Roman and his trouble
Are ashes under Uricon. (A. E. Housman).

Clean of officious fence or hedge,
Half-wild and wholly tame,
The wise turf cloaks the white cliff edge
As when the Romans came. (Kipling).

Here the Roman lived on the wind-barren lonely,
Dark now and haunted by the moorland fowl. (Masefield).

Then the grass of that mounded meadow stirred
Above the Roman bones that may not stir. (Freeman).

I saw them march from Dover, long ago,
With a silver cross before them, singing low,
Monks of Rome from their home where the blue seas break in foam,
Augustine with his feet of snow. (Flecker).

It would be no hard matter to extend this list from writers of to-day but the parallel quotations from earlier poets, Elizabethan, Romantic, or Victorian, are few and far between and where they do appear, in Spenser and lesser poets of his time, they have not the significance that they now have. The present-day interest in Roman Britain is perhaps the most tangible indication that could be found that the minds of English poets and students are turning instinctively to native origins that lie further back than the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. For poetry this means a radical change both in inspiration and in technique. It means a movement, which has long been palpable enough, although the grounds for it were not clear, away from *The Idylls of the King,* which marks perhaps the last attempt that will be made in English literature to combine the poetic impulses of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance on a large scale. Arthurian romance blocks

the way to Roman Britain; and that last bequest of the Renaissance, a regulative, poetic technique which could never have grown up of itself on English soil, interferes with the poetic treatment of that older England in any expressive and characteristic way. Literature which is to convey that sense of a more ancient continuity of which Hudson speaks cannot use the language and the manner of *The Idylls of the King*. It cannot again with a free hand draw energy from the Middle Ages or from the Renaissance as Malory and Shakespeare once did. It must for better or for worse forfeit a measure of traditional technique and find its own way, a more native way, of expressing that old life in its primitive strength and the subsequent story of the island down to yesterday and to-day in a manner expressing that strength and the long memory of it. This leads back to *The Dynasts* and *The Dawn in Britain* and possibly suggests their significance for the trend of modern English poetry more clearly than before. Whatever the intrinsic value of these two titanic poems—and it is enough to say with confidence that they have their assured place—they illustrate as no other poems of their time a native movement in English poetry that manifests itself also in countless quieter ways and cannot for a moment be overlooked by any whose interest in current poetry takes them beyond a search for the lesser technicalities.

If the above holds good in any degree, a peculiar significance can be attached to certain phases of the work of other writers who have been touched though not absorbed by this native impulse. The Kipling who wrote *An Habitation Enforced* and *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *The Way through the Woods* and *The Land* has shown that the native tradition can be seized in the simplest and directest way and taken straight to the hearts of the thousands who can read but are neither Alpinists nor aeronauts. One often hears it said that "this is the best of Kipling" and it is at least apparent that he has in this part of his work entered as a real pioneer into one of the deepest movements in modern English life. He strikes here a deeper vein that in his Army stories or when he sees Romance bringing up the 9.15, and it may be that future generations of readers who have restored the locomotive to its original, unro-

mantic position and who have by mere change of social conditions lost touch with the old regular army will read these most English tales and poems of Kipling's without any bar to the understanding.

Maurice Hewlett illustrates very clearly how this current in English feeling can draw into its movement a slighter and less originative writer who had hitherto been travelling in other directions. His *Song of the Plow* and, in lesser degree, *The Village Wife's Lament* may have seemed rather surprising departures at first but they only illustrate what is happening right and left among contemporary poets. Galsworthy, too, has turned from plays that recalled Ibsen and Hauptmann to novels that owe some of their inspiration to Thomas Hardy. Masefield, a more independent mind, though less easy to analyse, is especially interesting in this regard. His work betrays a deeply native tendency but is too sensitive to cross-currents to yield whole-heartedly to it. Thus he has written *The Tragedy of Nan* with a European technique not different from that of Hauptmann and has dramatized the Spanish armada in the Greek mould. His English qualities come out better in his narrative poems. There is the spirit of *Piers Plowman* in *The Everlasting Mercy* and again and again, most of all in *Reynard the Fox,* there is the dewy breath of Chaucer, the reading of whom, as he tells us himself, made him a poet. Masefield is the one writer of to-day who has it in him to carry the native tradition into stage drama. The whole of his work points to that as a natural consummation and perhaps he will yet do this, as Hardy and Doughty have done it for the epic, Kipling and Hardy for the prose tale, Housman and Hardy for the lyric.

The presence of this tradition in the lyric is proof of its sincerity and depth. That it has borne rich fruit already in the younger poets will not be contested to-day. The amount of local verse in praise of a town or country in *Poems of To-day,** that most popular collection, shows the influence of the native movement at work in poets of all classes, and of the older poets represented Robert Bridges stands out as one deeply imbued with the best of European culture and yet by his rigid exclu-

*Sidgwick and Jackson.

sion from his shorter verses of any but English subjects a quiet but not ineffective forerunner of the later movement. If John Davidson had not been so largely absorbed by the influence of Nietzsche he might have gone further than he did in English vein. The poems of his selected in this collection are worth noting as showing the taste of our time and as suggesting what Davidson might have done.

Walter de la Mare is steeped in English moon and twilight as no English poet before him; W. H. Davies is bathed in the English sun. On the other hand, Rupert Brooke and Flecker, whose work was interrupted before it had fully matured, had both come under other than native influences. They both seem to stand a little nearer to the nineties than their contemporaries and in Flecker's stronger genius the pull of the East and of the French *parnassiens* was too powerful to have been rapidly abandoned, even if he had so desired. But no exotic-minded Englishman was ever turned home again as Flecker was in "Brumana" and "Oak and Olive." He must have felt, as a poet too, what he was turning his back on.

Two less known poets who died in the war were more unmistakably English. Charles Sorley was a reader of the *Shropshire Lad,* whatever else he was, and he wrote poems that were as athletic and direct as Housman's, but his life was short. The real, measurable loss to the native tradition was in Edward Thomas. He matured slowly, but when the time came his poems dropped ripe from the tree. They are unpretentious, orchard fruit, English to the core. He was one of the first to experience the greatness of *The Dawn in Britain,* and some of his most thoughtful poems grow directly out of his reading of Hudson. He seems to have had no technical difficulties or rather to have found it perfectly easy to ignore them. His little poem "Words" shows the sort of poet he was, caring only for the character of his speech and little or nothing for its conformity. Words were natural things to him,

> . . . light as dreams,
> Tough as oak,
> Precious as gold,
> As poppies and corn,
> Or an old cloak,

and so he is found writing in the heart of a movement that is fully established and yet expressing himself at every moment with complete freshness and independence.

That he was conscious of the tradition he wished to carry on is shown by that splendid anthology of his called *This England,** which defines and illustrates it to perfection. It excludes "professedly patriotic writing because it is generally bad and because indirect praise is sweeter and more profound" and simply awakens "some of the echoes called up by the name of England" in the mind of one who was probably better fitted to respond than any one else in his time. It is what Thomas tried to make it, "as full of English character and country as an egg is of meat." It appeared at about the same time as *The Spirit of Man*** which represents the other side of the English tradition, its acquired, scholarly character, its bond with the thought of other lands. These are two of the most remarkable anthologies in the language. Better than any treatises and analyses they show that it is possible to-day to speak of a native and of a not-native tradition in English letters with a clear mental image, if not a ready definition, of what these terms mean. The separating-out of traditions in these two volumes almost lays the foundation for a new critical basis upon which to examine English literature. For the understanding of the literature of to-day and of to-morrow in England their help is invaluable. They explain why certain things have been discarded and others embraced and give meaning to the ancient freshness that has crept of late over the face of English poetry.

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**Longmans.

BUSINESS CYCLES AND THE DEPRESSION OF 1920-1.

> "We have just gone through a time of busy industry, and are come upon sorrow and ill fortune; but the same things have befallen us often within the knowledge of those now living. . . A period of bustle, or of gambling, cut short in a trice and turned into a period of suffering and loss, is a phenomenon so often recorded, that what is most to be noticed is that it should excite any wonder."—Dr. Hyde Clarke, "Physical Economy—a Preliminary Inquiry into the Physical Laws governing the Periods of Famines and Prices," 1847.

Another business cycle has about run its course. If one may hazard a guess based on previous experience and on a few current indices, we are somewhere near the middle of the business depression which is liquidating the artificial boom of the war and the post-Armistice period. As this is being written, in July, the "between seasons" month, normal midsummer dullness has aggravated the cyclical depression and the general tone of the business world has been not inaptly characterized as one of enthusiastic pessimism. Bad news is doubtless still in store for some trades; probably for business as a whole it may be next March before the worst is reached; and perhaps after that, recovery may be very gradual and halting. Yet fundamentally there is reason for confidence and courage. Indeed now almost for the first time, those who face facts squarely find solid ground for optimism. The gradual but substantial measure of liquidation already achieved, the increasing realization of the necessity of a restored economic equilibrium on the part of groups like the building trades which had long resisted the inevitable, the settlement of some major strikes and the avoidance of others, the improved transportation situation, the easing of money rates, the back-to-work movement in most European countries, and the improved political situation lead one to believe that we are already near the bottom and that the rest of the descent need not be so dangerously rapid as to result in a crash.

Perhaps there is a wider realization than ever before of the nature and cause of the present stagnation. But memories are short and historical perspective is still sadly lacking. Duringthe

later years of the war, everybody knew the world would have to pay the usual price for the hectic prosperity which had no solid basis. But the reaction was expected to come immediately and when after a few months' hesitation, business began to pick up, the lessons of history were again promptly forgotten and the fall of 1919 saw an outbreak of speculation in business and stock market circles that for recklessness has had few parallels. It may therefore be worth while to sketch the history and present position of opinion on the subject of industrial fluctuations before undertaking a brief description of the course and significant features of the current depression.

Crises, as we now know them, are largely phenomena of the last century and a quarter, and of countries which have come under the sway of the factory and credit systems. "The first modern panic" is said to have been the severe one of 1793. True, there were serious commercial disturbances in 1720 (when the South Sea Bubble collapsed), 1763,1772-3, and 1783; and W. Stanley Jevons professed to find what were currently called "stock-jobbing" panics at regular intervals in the other decades of the eighteenth century, but on scanty evidence. The characteristic modern crisis does not appear until the nineteenth century. Its explanation early gave trouble to the economists and the literature of the subject is very extensive and highly controversial. Generally speaking, one may say that until recently the tendency was to regard crises as sudden catastrophes interrupting the "normal" course of business and to explain them by special causes or accidental happenings such as wars, crop failures, bad banking systems, inventions, changes in trade routes, tariff legislation, unsettling administration by your Roosevelt or my Lloyd George, or the failure of some conspicuous business establishment. Study was concentrated on the external and incidental features of each individual crisis and on the spectacular three or four weeks in which the "crash" occurred. To-day the theory of crises has been broadened into a theory of "business cycles," the crisis itself being regarded as simply the most dramatic and the briefest of the three phases of the cycle through which modern industry recurrently passes. Thanks to some inherent characteristic of our economic organization, business activity to-day

presents the aspect of a wave-like motion, prosperity leading to a crisis, the crisis being followed by a depression, and depression ultimately giving way to prosperity. The student's task is therefore to analyse the complex processes of business life in order to discover why they inevitably work out a change from good times to bad and from bad times to good. Special factors must of course be taken into consideration but their influence will be found to be by way of complicating the process or furnishing the occasion rather than the cause.

Attention was first turned from the search for separate causes of each isolated crisis by the regularity with which crises have continued to run their course decade after decade in every highly industrialized nation. That regularity is indeed suspicious. In England, for example, and with some variations in France and Germany,we find crises in 1793, 1803, 1810, 1815, 1825, 1836-9, 1847, 1866, 1882, 1890, 1900, 1907, and 1914. In the United States, the corresponding dates are 1818, 1825, 1837, 1847, 1857, 1873, 1884, 1893, 1903, 1907, and 1914. A double pulsation seems apparent, the disturbances of 1818, 1837, 1873, 1893, and 1907 being especially severe. To economists of forty or fifty years ago the periodicity was striking and the usual claim of a ten or a ten and a half-year duration seemed to have an historical basis. This periodicity stimulated a number of investigators, including Dr. Hyde Clarke (as early as 1838), Sir William Herschel, John Mills, Poynting, J. T. Dawson, James Wilson, W. S. Jevons, and others, to search for a single persistent cause of all cycles. The work of Jevons[1] is well known. By a brilliant stretch of scientific imagination, he attributed the decennial recurrence of industrial crises to the variation of the sun-spots or rather, to be strictly fair to him, to meteorological variations depending upon cosmical conditions of which the sun-spot activity is only one index. Jevons, however, was misled by a mistaken calculation of meteorologists of the time, that the sun-spot cycle was 10.45 years in length—a duration which coincided almost perfectly with the 10.46 years which he had worked out as the average length of the thirteen economic cycles between 1721 and 1857. Unfortunately for his

[1]Jevons, *Investigations in Currency and Finance*, Chaps. 1, 6, 7 and 8.

theory, later investigations have definitely established the sun-spot cycle as 11.125 years. The exact relation of sun-spot activity to climate again is still the subject of controversy. Finally, more intensive study of earlier industrial fluctuations shows that Jevons somewhat exaggerated the measure of periodicity that did exist in earlier times, and our more recent experience has shown marked departures from the ten-year duration. Indeed the length of the most recent *normal* cycles seems to average seven or eight years. A recent writer suggests with some appearance of justice that a trade cycle inclines to be about either twice or three times a period of approximately three and a half years. Regularity is therefore far from perfect, though a comparatively high degree of periodicity is usually admitted.[2]

Realization of the above facts gradually dampened the enthusiasm of those who sought a uniform cause of cycles in physical or meteorological conditions and it has become the custom of the present generation to smile at Jevons and his sun-spots. Recently, however, there has been a revival of interest in this type of theory. In 1908, the younger Jevons published an article,[3] attempting in an ingenious way to revive his father's theory by making use of the results of later astronomical and meteorological investigations. More important is the work of Professor H. L. Moore of Columbia University.[4] A master of mathematics and statistical technique, Professor Moore uses the most refined methods of harmonic analysis to establish eight-year cycles with maxima approximately at 1882, 1890, 1898, 1906, 1914 in the annual rainfall of the Ohio Valley, in the May and June rainfall of the Dakotas, in the yield of wheat, oats and barley in the Dakotas, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, and in the production in the

[2]Professor Chapman suggests a resemblance to the oscillations of a pendulum when a kitten is playing with it.

[3]H. S. Jevons, *Trade Fluctuations and Solar Activity*, Contemporary Review, August, 1909.

[4]See his book, *Economic Cycles, their Law and Cause* (1914), and articles in the Quarterly Journal of Economics, February 1921, the Political Science Quarterly, June 1919, and the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, May 1919, and May 1920.

United States of coal and iron and of raw materials of manufacture. He also finds that the eight-year cycle in the yield per acre of the crops tends to generate an eight-year cycle in the prices of the products and concludes that the law of the cycles of rainfall is the law of the cycles of crops and the law of economic cycles. Even to those for whom mathematics is not an unfathomable mystery, Moore's periodigrams may not be entirely convincing. The range and accuracy of our meteorological data are probably not sufficiently great nor their interpretation sufficiently uniform[1] to provide a convincing basis for what he has attempted to do. Fortunately much work is being done at the present moment in the United States, England, Sweden, Russia, Japan, India, and Canada in the collection of meteorological data and in the investigation of the precise relation between climate and agriculture. Doubtless much more will also be done in the application of harmonic analysis to our economic data and Moore's work may just mark the beginning of a fruitful type of investigation. Meanwhile with the scant data at his disposal he has made a strong case for believing that weather cycles are at least an important contributory cause of economic cycles.[2]

But even lacking a full comprehension of the influence on industrial fluctuations of physical factors of this sort, we can show that there is something in the nature of our complex business mechanism which of itself inevitably produces the rhythmic movement which we have discovered. This we propose to show by paraphrasing W. C. Mitchell's[3] analysis of a typical business cycle. The process to be described is so complex that in so condensed an exposition it is difficult to depart far from Mitchell's methods of analysis or even from his

[1]In regard to periodic oscillations of climate, for instance, the only cycle fairly well accepted by meteorologists is the Brückner 35-year cycle in temperature and rainfall.

[2]Contrast the able analysis by A. Platt Andrew in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August 1906, of the influence of the crops on business in America.

[3]See his masterly work on *Business Cycles* (1913). Among other works of importance (from most of which Mitchell has drawn in the building up of his eclectic theory) are the following: Beveridge, *Unem-*

phraseology. The broad underlying factors, it will readily be noted, are the extreme specialization characteristic of modern industry, the large-scale production carried on months ahead of demand and in anticipation of demand, the intricate interlocking of firms and places through the credit system, and the mob-mindedness of men.

Since it is necessary to dip into the cycle at some point, we may start with the revival of activity just after a depression. The period of stagnation has left us with a low level of prices, narrow margins of profit, liberal bank reserves, a conservative policy in capitalizing business enterprises and in granting credits, moderate stocks of goods on dealers' shelves, cautious buying on the part of consumers, and drastic reductions in the costs of doing business (because the management is striving to eliminate wastes, the workers are more efficient through fear of losing their jobs, and funds can be borrowed at low rates). For reasons to be explained later, these conditions are accompanied by an expansion in the physical volume of trade, slow at first but of cumulative force and frequently hastened by some propitious event such as a very favorable harvest (as in 1915), heavy purchases of supplies by governments, or a marked increase in export trade. This initial revival may at first be confined to a small group of industries. But, even if so, the active concerns must soon buy raw materials and current supplies from other firms, the latter from still others, and so on indefinitely. Meanwhile the larger volume of wages paid and profits earned brings an increase in family incomes and a consequent expansion of consumer's demand which also spreads out in ever widening circles. Retailers, wholesalers, manufacturers, importers and producers of raw materials find their trade growing, increase their purchases, pay out more money to employees and lenders, and thus

ployment; May, *Das Grundgesetz der Wirtschaftskrisen;* Aftalion, *Essai d'une Théorie des crises générales et périodiques;* Bouniatian, *Studien Zur Theorie und Geschichte der Wirtschaftskrisen;* Spiethoff, in *Schmoller's Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung,* 1902, 1903 and 1909; Hull, *Industrial Depressions;* Lescure, *Des Crises générales et périodiques de surproduction;* Veblen, *Theory of Business Enterprise;* and Jones, *Economic Crises.* The writings of J. A. Hobson, Irving Fisher, T. N. Carver and W. Sombart also contain valuable suggestions.

stimulate afresh the demand for both producers' and consumers' goods. It is not long before this expansion of orders reaches back to the firms which gave the initial impetus to revival, and then the whole complicated series of reactions begins again at a higher pitch of intensity. The psychological factor has also been at work. Increasing business makes business men optimistic and this feeling not only justifies itself but heightens the forces which engendered it by making the public readier to buy with freedom.

But what has been happening to prices during this revival? Obviously, to bring out the increased production, prices must rise, and once started they rise rapidly, for, as we found out so clearly during the war, every advance in quotations puts pressure on the buyer to recoup himself by a similar rise in the prices of what he has to sell. But the price changes are far from uniform, and this irregularity is important for our story. For reasons that lie buried in technical differences in market organization and in relative demand for and supply of different classes of goods, retail prices always lag behind wholesale, staple consumers' goods behind staple producers' goods, finished products behind raw materials, and raw animal or farm or forest products behind minerals. More important perhaps, wages rise often more promptly but always in less degree than wholesale prices; discount rates (for short time loans) may rise more slowly or more rapidly than commodity prices; interest rates on long time loans always rise more slowly, especially at first, while the prices of stocks both precede and exceed the rise in the price of goods. The significant feature of these price changes is the failure of production costs to keep up with the prices of finished products. This coupled with the increasing volume of sales means larger profits for business men. Increased profits and the prevailing spirit of business optimism lead to a marked expansion of investments and the resulting heavy orders for equipment still further swell the volume of trade and drive prices upward. Finally, all these varied forces—augmented trade, rising prices, growing optimism, expanding profits, increased investment—act and react on each other with cumulative effect. The squirrel cage turns faster and ever faster.

On the surface at least there seems no reason why this process of enhancing prosperity should not continue indefinitely, and the business world acts on this assumption. Gradually, however, there accumulate stresses or strains within the delicately balanced system of business which ultimately undermine the conditions upon which prosperity rests. These stresses are of two chief types. In the first place, there is a gradual increase in the cost of doing business. Old contracts for buildings, supplies, officials, funds, etc., expire and have to be renewed at higher levels. Poorly located plants and antiquated equipment have to be conscripted for steady use, as so many times during the war boom. Labour costs increase because of higher standard rates (which can now be easily forced), heavy overtime payments, and decreasing efficiency thanks to the necessity of employing the least desirable workmen and the inability, when jobs are plentiful, of driving crews at top speed. Finally, raw materials continue to rise faster than manufacturers' selling prices and the press of business leads inevitably to numerous small wastes.

The second and perhaps more obvious strain is the accumulating tension in the investment and money markets. Funds for long time purposes fail to keep pace with the rapidly swelling demand, capital becomes scarce and dear. Short time funds show the same characteristics, for bank loans are limited by cash reserves. These high rates in the bond and money markets are unfavorable to the continuance of prosperity, because they reduce the prospective margins of profit and check the expansion of trade out of which prosperity developed. Either because borrowers conclude that the interest would eat up the profit or because lenders flatly refuse to extend further capital or credit, many projected undertakings have to be postponed or given up altogether. The check from this stress is especially severe on steel mills, foundries, machine shops, smelters, quarries, lumber mills, cement plants, construction companies and other firms which depend primarily upon the demand for industrial equipment. While they may be busy with old contracts, they face a serious decline in business in the near future because high money rates and high construction costs have deferred so many plans for extending old and erecting new plants.

The larger grows the inverted pyramid of prosperity, the more severe become these internal strains or stresses. The only salvation lies in a perpetual rise of prices which will postpone the evil day when costs catch up with profits. But, fortunately for the consumer, the rise in prices cannot go on forever. In some lines prices are fixed more or less rigidly by law, by public commissions, by long time contracts, by custom (note the five cent fare on street railways), or by business policy. There are other lines in which prices depend on weather risks and vary up or down with crop reports. In some industries the capacity for production has increased faster than demand for the product at the higher price. This type of maladjustment is a dominating influence in some cycles. Contracting firms, as we have found, are in special difficulties, and their difficulties react upon those from whom they buy materials and supplies. Thus as prosperity approaches its climax, a minority of business enterprises face the prospect of declining profit. This minority grows larger, the more intense prosperity becomes. A radical readjustment is only a matter of time.

But why, precisely, does trouble actually develop in the threatened group of industries? In default of special conditions which are sometimes important, the primary reason is doubt which the decline in profits arouses as to the security of outstanding credits. Business credit is based on the capitalized value of present and future profits. Now at the peak of prosperity the volume of such credit outstanding is based on the exaggerated expectations which prevail when the volume of trade is enormous, prices high, and business men optimistic. With rising interest rates and declining profits, creditors see their security melting away and begin at once to refuse renewals of old loans, probably also insist on repayment of outstanding accounts. Just as soon then as rates of profits cease to be as large as expected, the huge towering structure of business credit is undermined and a process of liquidation ensues. The acute stage of liquidation is what we mean by a crisis. It is characterized by a falling off in orders and a consequent contraction in trade, a rise in discount and interest rates, a fall in the price of commodities and of securities, reduced employ-

ment and extensive unemployment, an increasing number of business failures, and a general halting character to all business operations. It may be short and intense or long drawn out and less severe, but normally lasts only from one to three months—whereas the preceding period of prosperity is usually a matter of two to four or five years.

The crisis which is primarily an industrial phenomenon may degenerate into a financial panic. This usually happened in the United States before 1913, thanks chiefly to the antiquated National Banking System. If, when a crisis is impending, a conspicuous concern happens to be in an especially weak position, its bankruptcy may bring down a large number of other firms and spread unreasoning alarm among the business public. At such times the country's banks are suddenly forced to meet a double strain. Business men want sudden increases in their loans and the man in the street wants cash for his deposits. If the banks can meet both these demands without flinching, as they have been able to do in England, France and Canada, the alarm is quickly dispelled. But the old United States banking system, with its independent local banks, its lack of unity, and its scattered reserves, made such a bold policy impossible. Many solvent firms had to be refused loans at any price, cash payments had to be suspended in whole or in part, and, as a result, the usual incidents of a financial panic crowded one upon the other—a premium upon currency, hoarding of cash, use of unlawful substitutes for money, a sudden jump in interest rates, numerous bankruptcies, slow collections, dislocated exchange rates, serious unemployment, price declines, sacrifice sales, violent contraction in the volume of business, maximum expansion in bank-note circulation, frantic efforts to import gold, and frantic appeals to the Government for extraordinary aid. All these features were especially marked in 1907 when the failure of the Knickerbocker Trust Co. precipitated the panic in New York City.

But the panic, if it does occur, will not last long. After four or five weeks of financial storm, with or without a slight temporary revival of activity, a period of depression ensues, gradually spreading over the whole field of business and becoming more severe as it spreads. The reasons are not far to seek.

Unemployment and under-employment mean lowered family incomes and decreased consumers' demand. As a result producers' demand for raw materials and current supplies falls off. Investors' demand for construction work of all kinds shrinks still more rapidly. These several shrinkages in demand cause further discharges of employees and reduce consumers' demand once more. Thus the whole round begins again at higher speed. Competition for the declining volume of business brings lower prices. Each drop in prices facilitates or forces other price reductions, and this force also becomes cumulative. But these price declines, like the previous increases in the price level, are by no means regular. Goods sold by wholesalers fall in price faster than those sold at retail, producers' goods faster than consumers' goods, raw materials faster than manufactured goods, commodity prices more rapidly than wages and long-time interest rates, discount rates and stock prices to a greater degree than commodity prices. For business men the significant result of all these forces is the decline in present and prospective profits. This spreads an atmosphere of gloom among business men which deepens as it spreads, and still further aggravates the forces which engendered it.

In analysing the early stages of the cycle, we found forces at work in the period of prosperity which inevitably produced a crisis. Are there forces at work in the period of dullness which will automatically bring an end to depression? In the first place the costs of production are greatly lessened by depression. Prices of raw materials and of bank loans have fallen greatly. Labour is more efficient because men are anxious to hold their jobs, and overtime is seldom necessary. Managers are forced to economize and eliminate the small wastes. The water is squeezed out of inflated capitalizations. Rents are reduced and loans refunded at lower rates. Bad debts are charged off, property values written down, and in other ways supplementary costs are reduced. In the second place depression after a time leads to a material increase in the physical volume of trade. Old stocks are gradually exhausted. Clothing, furniture, and other moderately durable articles eventually wear out and must be replaced by current consumption. A larger population must be fed and clothed, new tastes appear, busi-

ness men become less timid, and the demand for industrial equipment revives because bonds can be floated on especially good terms and the cost of construction is low. For all these reasons, and usually within one or two years after the initial collapse, the depression gives way to a revival of prosperity and the business cycle is complete.

So runs the story of a typical business cycle. What light, if any, does it throw on the present industrial situation?

Our last depression in Canada began with the breaking of the Western construction and real estate boom in the winter of 1913, was aggravated by the outbreak of the war, and continued until the miraculous grain crop of 1915 and the placing of large war orders by the Imperial and Dominion Governments, initiated a revival of prosperity in the autumn of 1915. With some slight reactions boom conditions persisted in Canada, as in most other countries, until the close of the war. The general features of this boom and its underlying causes in abnormal war demands, huge borrowings, and inflated currency, are well known. More striking and not so well understood is the secondary boom which followed the Armistice after a few intervening months of hesitancy and readjustment. Most people expected the fall in prices and the other incidents of crisis and depression to follow rapidly upon the heels of peace. But they had not realized that the shelves of the world were bare and that a large part of the world was hungry, scantily clad, poorly shod, and poorly housed. They had also something yet to learn of the mysterious workings of currency inflation and national borrowing. After an anxious winter, business commenced to pick up in April. As the wheels of industry began to turn faster and faster, the business world once again made the mistake that has been made in every period of boom. Men thought that they had at last surmounted economic laws and that this time an artificial boom would not have the usual results. The brakes were therefore thrown off and the machine was driven full steam ahead, regardless of possible consequences.

The most spectacular index of the reckless pace at which business was being driven was the rise in prices. In the last six months of 1919 prices rose more rapidly in Canada, as in

most other countries, than in any similar period during the war, and the increase was added to a price level which was already considered to be at the limits of tolerance. It would be difficult to say whether the initial impetus came from Europe or from inflation of currency due to government borrowing, or from the increased domestic purchases by returned soldiers who in Canada at least had been liberally bonused out of Government funds secured by borrowing. Certain it is that the European factor soon became the dominant influence. After the Armistice Europe took an easy but short-sighted method of getting goods and paying debts. Instead of following the straight and narrow path of work, thrift, and taxation, the peoples of Europe set the printing presses to work to bridge the ever-broadening gap between public revenue and public expenditure. In Germany, for instance, paper money increased by over 50 per cent. in 1919, and again by nearly 60 per cent. in 1920. On Dec. 31, 1920, Reichsbank and war loan bank notes alone reached the incredible total of 80,838 millions of marks,—which in five franc notes of the size of one of our dollar bills would be sufficient to cover the old German Empire thirty layers deep. The same process went on to a greater or less extent in other countries, and was usually accompanied by a similar inflation of bank deposits. Currency depreciation and soaring price levels were the inevitable sequels. For a time the manufacture of money seemed to be Europe's most important industry. The goods which she failed to produce, the war-ridden Continent was buying in enormous quantities from every part of the world, but her purchases were being made *on credit.* Between January 1, 1919, and September 15, 1920, the United States alone, according to one estimate,[1] sold to Europe on "open account" not less than three and a half billion dollars' worth of goods. This is a net figure obtained after making proper allowance for Government advances to Europe of $2,820,000,000, a commodity trade balance in favour of the United States of $6,600,000,000, and the other relevant debt and credit entries in the balance sheet during the same period. The building up of this huge unfunded debt was apparently

[1]B. M. Anderson, in Chase Economic Bulletin, Oct. 5, 1920.

made possible by London assuming financial responsibility for the Continent and by American Banks providing the funds through the creation of new bank credit. Some of this bank credit was granted directly to European importers or to European importers on the guarantee of British Banks, but probably most of it was an indirect advance in the form of ordinary "line of credit" loans to American producers and exporters who had tied up their working capital in indefinite advances to European traders. Much the same thing was going on in England, in Canada, and in other countries. Detailed Canadian information is not easily accessible, but Canada's favorable balance of trade with all countries other than the United States, of over $1,100,000,000 in the fiscal years 1919 and 1920 may be taken as a rough index of our relations with Europe.

Meanwhile this apparently insatiable European demand was building up throughout the world a fictitious prosperity and laying the foundations for ultimate collapse. For one thing it drained the non-European markets of goods, and thus accentuated the influence of huge Government expenditures and the other forces which were already making for higher prices. More importantly, it encouraged the spirit of speculation which still further raised prices by creating artificial shortages and by raising exaggerated hopes of future price increases. The speculation in commodities, securities, and foreign exchange which began in the summer of 1919 has been described by a recent financial writer as nothing short of appalling. At the time the tendency was to attribute the rise in prices almost wholly to scanty output on the one hand and to lavish consumption on the other. There is no doubt that partly as a result of unusually high money incomes for some classes and partly as a reaction after the war tension, the spirit of extravagance did run wild. There was little or no haggling over prices when purchases were being made—though perchance much academic cursing afterwards—and high price rather than high quality was alleged to be the deciding consideration with the customer. As time went on, of course, high prices began to pinch and consumers had of necessity to reduce their expenditure. Real scarcity, either

the result of short production or of Europe's abnormal demands, also played its important part, as we have seen. But there can be no doubt that, temporarily, speculation accentuated the real shortage in many lines. The high-priced products tempted to speculative holding and to overstocking on the part of middlemen in the expectation of still higher prices. The facts in regard to sugar are well known. The United States index number for the wholesale prices of lumber and building materials rose from 162 to 341 between April, 1919, and April, 1920, though there was really very little building. Raw cotton in the same period rose at New Orleans from 26¾ cents per lb. to 41½ cents, though the cotton crop was very large and the output of cloth was declining under the high prices of marketed textiles. Meanwhile, despite larger sales, stocks in the retail trade had been piling up on merchants' shelves, and in the first half of 1920 were 40 to 50 per cent. greater than in the corresponding period of the preceding year.[1] These few straws may be taken as indicative of the way in which, both as a result and as a cause of the rapidly mounting price level, there was piling up in the world's markets an unprecedented volume of products, unabsorbed by consumers at the high prices and for the most part "sequestered away by high-bidding operators in quest of still higher prices."

We have not the space necessary to follow in detail the development of the other phases of this post-war boom. Suffice it to say that as the year 1919 wore on to its close, the strains or stresses which we have found to be typical of the later stages of a normal boom began to make their appearance. Costs of production rose with startling rapidity. The increase in labour costs was great and rapid. The spring and summer of 1919 saw a very large increase in the number of persons on strike for increased wages, shorter hours, and union recognition. Shop discipline was difficult to maintain and efficiency was much below normal. In spite of the return of four million men from the army and navy to industry in the United States, there was a decline in the physical volume of production in 1919 as compared with 1918, estimated at 4 per

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[1]Standard Daily Trade Service, July 18, 1921.

cent. by Prof. Stewart, at 5.5 per cent. by Prof. Day, and at 7.4 per cent. by Mr. B. M. Anderson. Canadian figures would show roughly the same conditions. Business managers themselves showed a similar decline in efficiency. They found it too easy to add increased costs to selling prices to be bothered much by small wastes. They were sometimes too easily persuaded to incur extravagant overhead expenses by persuasive promoters with 'ideas to sell"—witness the huge expenditures on long-run advertising by firms who were swayed by the argument that in view of the excess profits taxes a million dollars' worth of extra advertising could be obtained for an expenditure of that sum less the 30 or 40 per cent. which would otherwise have to go to the Government in taxes. Raw materials again, especially building materials, rose more rapidly than finished products. Between April, 1919, and April, 1920, bituminous coal at the pit's mouth in the Pittsburgh district, rose from $2.25 to $4.25, and by July the price had reached the impossible level of $10.00 per ton. As we shall find, the cost of money both for short and long term purposes also increased steadily.

As these various constituents of cost of production rose during the Fall of 1919 and the first half of 1920, the position of industrial enterprises became less and less sound. Especially was this true of industries like gold mining, railroading, and public utilities, whose prices were more or less fixed. Their difficulties multiplied rapidly during the early part of 1920. But even for the ordinary industry, costs began to creep up as rapidly as, or more rapidly than the prices of finished products, now at an intolerable level, could be raised, and the prospective margin of profit threatened to become too low to support the superstructure of credit which had been built up. In some booms, as we have seen, maladjusted production, and especially, over-expansion of the equipment industries, may play a dominant part. Thus over-building of railways was the primary cause of the English crisis of 1847 and the American crisis of 1873. In the most recent boom this factor played a less important part. True there was a fundamental disturbance in the world's industrial equilibrium, when Europe almost ceased to be a producer of manufactured goods and began to

purchase such goods in enormous volume from North America. During the war, also, a tremendous amount of capital went literally "up in smoke" and much was spent on munition plants and aircraft factories, demand for whose products ceased with the war's close. But the burden of these wastes of capital was borne chiefly by governments. Business men made provision for the risks by charging higher prices and building up large reserves. More serious in its effects was the elaborate shipbuilding campaign undertaken by the American, Canadian and certain other Governments after the Armistice. The over-building which resulted may be indicated by a single illustration. The United States' merchant marine built at a cost of over three and a half billion dollars has now an estimated market value of about one billion dollars. Much of the difference is sheer irrecoverable waste. Finally the epidemic of extravagance to which we have already referred resulted in over-expansion in a number of luxury industries such as those producing automobiles and automobile accessories. On the whole, however, the war period was one of restriction in construction and equipment; and there was, and still is, a shortage of houses, business blocks, cars, locomotives, and other capital goods. The present depression is, therefore, the result not so much of an industrial reaction as of a price collapse following a period of unprecedented credit inflation.

Meanwhile as costs and prices rose and the markets witnessed wave after wave of speculative activity, there was a growing tension in the investment and money markets. The strain on the banking systems of the leading countries soon became terrific. In a single year, loans of the chief banks to business men increased by about 25 per cent. in the United States, 41 per cent. in England, and 32 per cent. in Canada. This huge expansion was the result of the credits granted to Europe and of the rising prices and speculative activity which compelled all business men to borrow more largely in order to carry their inventories. While current loans were thus increasing, stock market speculation required a heavy volume of loans at call, the United States was loaning gold in large amounts to the non-European world, and the cash reserve ratios of the different banking systems tended steadily to fall.

It was in the call loan market that trouble first developed. During the Summer of 1919 rates had fluctuated widely, but it was not until November that the strain which speculative activity was exerting on the banking position forced the ruling rate to around 15 or 20 per cent. and even to a maximum of 30 per cent. on November 12. The strain continued throughout the winter months with the rate ranging from 6 to 25 per cent. In November also, official discount rates, which for a time had been held at an artificially low level, were raised both in London and New York, and successive increases followed. The market rate for commercial loans also grew steadily firmer. For instance, in the United States the rate on prime commercial paper, which during the summer of 1919 was steady around 5¼ per cent., strengthened to 5½ in November, to 6 in February, and to 7 in March. Finally, the investment market showed evidences of a similar strain. Firms which had bonds issues maturing during 1919 found that they could renew their loans only on exceedingly difficult terms, and the numerous issues of short-time notes and of 8 per cent. preference shares with many of the privileges of bonds showed how strenuously business men tried to avoid long-time contracts to pay the high interest rates.

By the spring of 1920 the price and credit situation had reached the explosive point. The collapse came first in Japan with the sudden break in the silk markets, followed by the closing of the important exchanges, and a rather serious financial panic. The movement spread to India, then to Cuba, then to Europe, and finally to the United States and Canada. In April and May in the two latter countries two things happened at about the same time. The public, exasperated at the continual rise in prices and with buying power sharply curtailed, began the so-called consumers' strike; and the banks, convinced that prices could with safety rise no farther, commenced to restrict credits and compel reduction in merchants' inventories. Then started a rapid price decline, at first chiefly in woollens, rubber, leather, sugar, and food products, but soon becoming fairly general. The following table summarizes the trend in wholesale prices for the leading countries:

INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES.

	Canada	United States	United Kingdom	France	Germany	Japan
	Department of Labour	Bureau of Labour Statistics	Economist	Statistique Générale	Frankfurter Zeitung	Bank of Japan
Average, 1913	100	100	100	100	100*	100
Peak, May, 1920..	263	272	306 (Apr.)	587 (Apr.)	1714	321
Jan., 1921	208	178	209	407	1626	201
Feb., 1921	199	167	193	377	1495	195
March, 1921	194	162	189	361	1440	191
April, 1921	187	154	183	346	1429	190
May, 1921	182	151	182	328	1429	191
June, 1921	179	148	179	323	1376	192
Decline from peak	32%	46%	41%	45%	19%	40%

Average prices for 1913 are taken as 100, and the highest point reached in 1920 as well as the figures for each month of the current year are shown. Deflation came most rapidly for a time in Japan, but lately conditions seem to have been stabilized. In the United States prices had by June slumped 46 per cent. from the peak and were then only 48 per cent. above the pre-war level. Canadian wholesale prices which have declined only 32 per cent., are still 74 per cent. above the level for 1913. In Germany prices are still nearly fourteen times as high as in 1914. On the whole the lowering of the general price level has been very satisfactory. To find a parallel to the recent precipitate decline one would have to go back to the deflation periods following the Napoleonic wars in England and the Civil War in the United States. Less satisfactory is the readjustment among particular prices. Some prices have fallen very greatly, have undoubtedly reached bottom; others have fallen very little, and have yet a long way to go. In the latter category may be mentioned the prices of iron and steel, building materials, house furnishings and coal; transportation rates; and perhaps wage rates in certain industries.

*Average for July, 1914.

Retail prices, too, have lagged far behind wholesale prices, and in Canada the lag has been much greater than across the line. Our Labour Department's family budget, for instance, dropped less than 14 per cent. in the year ending last May, and showed the workman's cost of living still 60 per cent. above pre-war levels. An harmonious price system does not yet exist, and until one is established, industrial recovery will be delayed. Prices must get back to a stable basis and must be justly related to each other before business can go ahead with assurance and equity.

If the readjustment of the price level has gone far, less progress has been made in the liquidation of credit. The acute money strain was first eased by a drastic reduction of call loans. Thus in New York alone loans to the stock market dropped from a peak of $1,750,000,000 in July, 1919, to around $700,000,000 by the end of 1920. Meanwhile, thanks to the rapid deflation of prices, the slowing down of business, and the pressure of the banks on business men, considerable progress has been made in the "thawing out" of the so-called "frozen credits." For the first ten or twelve months little improvement was shown in the bank statements because the banks in all countries made special efforts to prevent a panic by allowing all solvent firms adequate time to mobilize their slow assets and protect their solvency. But since the beginning of the present year steady progress has been made. The pronounced improvement in the American money market between December 10, 1920, and July 6, 1921, is indicated by an increase in the Federal Reserve bank ratio of total reserves to net deposits and note liabilities from 44.5 to 60.0; by a decrease in total loans and investments of reporting member banks of 8.5 per cent.; by a decrease in bills discounted and bought in open market by the Federal Reserve banks of 38 per cent.; and by a decline in Federal Reserve note circulation of 19 per cent. In the year ending last June, Canadian banks decreased their current loans in Canada by a neat hundred millions, or almost 8 per cent., and decreased their note circulation by 13 per cent. In England expansion was checked in 1920, and during 1921 there has apparently been a slow but steady movement towards liquidation. Even in France, to judge by the metallic reserve, note circulation, loans and discounts, and advances to

the State of the Bank of France, there has been perceptible improvement in the last six months. Reflecting the easing of the money strain, has come a lowering of money rates in the world's chief money markets. Call loan rates now rule at 3½ per cent. in New York, the lowest rate for many a month. Prevailing rates for prime commercial paper in the same market dropped from around 8 per cent. to 6¼ in the last six or eight months. London and New York have gradually lowered their official discount rates from highs of 7 per cent. to 5½ and Paris has just announced the latter rate. In the investment markets interest rates have dropped but slightly because of the great demand for capital for non-industrial purposes. Recently, however, prices of good investment bonds have begun to rise. On the whole, while the period of money stringency has passed, money rates are still not low enough, and have not been low for a sufficient length of time to provide adequate stimulus for a general revival of business activity.

The usual sequels to price deflation and credit liquidation have not been absent in the last eighteen months. The decline in security values has been drastic and fairly continuous, the June average being lower than the low of last December's stock market crisis. Micheli's index of Canadian securities showed a fall from 122.5 to 103.9 in the year ending June, while Gibson's index of 41 New York stocks fell from 83.5 to 60.3. The volume of transactions on the leading markets is still only moderate and deep gloom persists. We are now probably near the end of the accumulation phase of the stock market cycle, but much depends on money rates. Business failures have been numerous and increasing. In the United States for the first half of 1921 the number and liabilities of failed concerns were three times the figures reported in the similar period last year, but below those for 1916 and much below those for 1915. Canadian firms to the number of 961, with liabilities of $21,735,000, failed in the first six months of 1921, as compared with 368 firms and liabilities of $4,311,000 in 1920. In the full year 1915, 3,316 firms failed, with total liabilities of $55,050,000. The failure record, therefore, is as yet nothing like as serious as one might have expected. The generous assistance of the banks, the willingness of creditors to compromise, and the reserves built up during the fat years are

responsible for this good showing. The Riordon Company, whose securities of the par value of $43,000,000 once had a market value of $19,000,000, but would now bring less than $1,000,000 in the open market, is a striking Canadian instance not only of the unwise policies of the inflation period, but also of the strenuous efforts that are being made to substitute informal arrangements by creditors' committees for the more drastic process of the bankruptcy courts. But many mushroom concerns, especially in the trading field, were allowed to spring up and flourish in the boom years when anybody could make money, and a substantial increase in failures will probably be necessary before all the weak spots are eliminated. Our businesses should be placed as soon as possible in efficient hands.

In the field of industrial readjustment, in the narrow sense of the term, least progress has been made. This is not unnatural because the price system must first be readjusted. But even here something has been added to the credit side of the ledger. There has been drastic contraction in some of the industries which had been over-expanded, the automobile and shipbuilding industries, for example. Further, many of those industries in which the fall of prices was most precipitate have begun to show recovery. Thus there has been improvement recently in woollens, cottons, silks, boots and shoes, leather, tobacco, and some food products. The decline in prices has also helped gold mining and public utilities, and, to a smaller extent as yet, the railroads. But in most of the other industries conditions are bad and becoming worse. Consumers postpone purchases, looking for lower prices; middlemen buy from hand to mouth; factories are closed or working on part time; production in spite of substantially increased capacity is at a lower ebb than during the depression following the crises of 1907 and 1914. The iron and steel industry, for instance, has been running at from 20 to 30 per cent. capacity, and the United States' iron output for June was lower than that for any month since the close of 1903. Recent figures for building permits show a slight increase, but this improvement is only seasonal. The recovery of the building trades awaits a substantial and long overdue deflation in the prices of building materials and the wages of building labour. In Canada whole-

sale prices of building materials rose 186 per cent. during the war, but by June had declined only 24 per cent. The paralysis of foreign trade still continues. Its severity may be indicated by a comparison of the value of merchandise exports for June, 1920, and June, 1921. The figures to be contrasted are $629,000,000 and $340,000,000 for the United States, $107,000,000 and $58,000,000 for Canada, and £136,000,000 and £45,000,000 for the United Kingdom. The most serious result of this industrial depression is the fact that so many men are unemployed or underemployed—which, as we have seen, means reduced consumers' demand and an intensification of the forces which have produced the depression. In spite of some temporary relief from seasonal industries, unemployment is on the increase. We can give only the Canadian figures as an illustration of a world-wide phenomenon. At the end of April there were unemployed 16.3 per cent. of Canadian trade union members as compared with 13 per cent. in January, 2.5 per cent. in April, 1920, and 7.9 per cent. in December, 1915. The employment index of the Department of Labour, based on returns from over 5,000 firms, was down to 87.4 on July 2, as compared with 107.8 a year ago, and with 100 on January 17, 1920. The labour outlook for the winter is indeed serious, and is rightly giving much concern to the Federal and Provincial Labour Departments.

What are the prospects for the immediate future? Is panic still in store for us, as some have feared? Will recovery start this fall, as many others expect, or shall we have to wait until next spring for complete readjustment and a renewed activity that will be more than permanent? Certainly the danger of panic has passed, but beyond that it is difficult to prophesy. The favorable factors are numerous and are increasing. The improved political outlook in Europe and the world generally, the decision of the reparations problem, the settlement of the British coal strike and other major labour troubles, the gradual liquidation of wages without bitter resistance on the part of labour, the gradual "feeding out" of inflated inventories, the improvement in those industries in which price deflation had gone farthest, the recent rise in Bradstreet's index number of wholesale prices for the United States (Bradstreet's being usually first to mark the turn of the tide), the convales-

cence of the money and credit markets, and the prospects of a harvest somewhat better than the average—all these are favorable factors of no mean importance. But without minimizing these hopeful features, we shall do well to recognize that there are still unsolved some fundamental problems which will make permanent revival slow and difficult. Most serious of these problems is the uneven progress of liquidation in different industries. Farmers and other workers in the deflated industries cannot go on buying the same quantity of goods at the old prices, and hence workmen in the latter industries remain unemployed. But there are other difficulties. The heavy non-industrial demands for capital and the consequent high level of interest rates, the continuing disorder in the public finances of many countries, the dislocation of foreign trade and of the foreign exchanges, the widespread unemployment—these unfavorable factors cannot be overlooked. One might hope that good crops would provide a sufficient stimulus for revival, if the winter were not so near at hand. The safest guess seems to be that permanent recovery will not begin before next spring. Meanwhile the optimist is the one who sees how serious the depression has already been. It would be madness to imagine that we can escape paying a high price for our follies of the last few years. If much has already been paid on the account, less remains to be paid. A dark picture of the past or immediate present is the only real ground for optimism.

W. C. CLARK.

THE PRESENT INTELLECTUAL STATUS OF CANADA.*

IN 1893 Sir John Bourinot, so long of this Society *decus ac tutamen,* delivered the Presidential address, taking as his subject: *Canada's Intellectual Strength and Weakness; a short historical and critical review of Literature, Art and Education in Canada.* I have of late occupied myself with the endeavour, however inadequately performed, to bring this address up to date; to see how far we have increased our strength or overcome our weakness; how far we may now deem ourselves to have an intellectual standing among nations. In a Kultur-map of the world, published by Germany in 1913, Canada shared with the greater part of Africa the distinction of being *black, i.e.,* of having no assignable culture. Was this justified? One limitation I shall set myself: Sir John discussed, as was fitting for the President of the whole Society, our achievements, whether wrought by Canadians of French or English tradition; as President of this Section only I shall confine myself to the latter.

In some lines of work at least we have made great progress since 1893; in the arts of painting and architecture Sir John could say that "so public-spirited a city as Toronto, which numbers among its citizens a number of artists of undoubted merit, is conspicuous for its dearth of good pictures, even in private collections, and for the entire absence of any public gallery."

Toronto to-day not only possesses an Art Gallery, the nucleus of which is the fine old home of Goldwin Smith, but the gallery at this moment houses an exhibition of the work of a Toronto coterie of artists, Lawren Harris, J. E. H. Macdonald, F. H. Varley and others, whose work is in the truest sense the product of a school. Whether they depict the sterile and desolate beauty of Northern Ontario, and draw their chief inspiration from the genius of Tom Thompson, whether it is a scene from "the Ward," or the portrait of a Professor, their work is in every sense Canadian, and yet done with a technique

*Presidential address delivered to Section II of the Royal Society of Canada in May, 1920.

which shows that they have not left unstudied the modern schools of England and of France. That is the only true originality, to gain the skill and the technique of the older tradition and yet to transform and transfuse it with the inspiration of Canadian skies and Canadian air. The work is for the most part that of young men, and has not yet attained its zenith; but it is a true and vigorous expression of Canadian life and Canadian art; racy of the soil, yet adhering to the great humanistic traditions of Europe.

I am not comparing them with their elder brothers, of whom Sir John spoke, many of whom are still in the full vigour of their inspiration; but I speak of them to show that the work wrought and being wrought by O'Brien and Horatio Walker and Dickson Patterson and a score of others has found worthy successors to whom, when the time comes, they may pass on the torch.

Toronto also possesses the Royal Ontario Museum, founded by the Provincial Government, and largely supported by private help. With its five divisions of Archæology, Biology, Geology, Mineralogy and Palæontology, it is superior to any such collection in the Empire outside of London, and in certain lines is worthy to rank as the younger brother of the British Museum or of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The Dominion Gallery here in Ottawa, begun in Sir John's time, has now grown to its present noble proportions. The Canadian war pictures, done in part by Canadian artists, and eventually destined to be taken out of the cold storage in which they lie at present, are the embodiment of a very noble and grandiose conception, alike of the artists, of the Government and of private munificence. Here it is fitting that I pay a just tribute to our Canadian Lorenzo de Medici, banker, statesman and patron of art and letters, Sir Edmund Walker, without whose aid neither Art Gallery of Toronto, nor Art Gallery of Ottawa, nor Art Museum of Toronto, nor our collection of Canadian war paintings would be what they are.

In architecture too, wherein Sir John Bourinot was compelled to sing small, Canada has gone ahead. Fine as were the Parliament Buildings of Canada in his day, they are finer now. In Toronto a school of younger men, of whom Mr. Henry

Sproatt is the chief, has adopted the Collegiate Gothic of the Tudors to our Canadian climate, and in Burwash Hall and Hart House has co-operated with the wise generosity of the Masseys to erect buildings superior to any of the modern English work in Oxford or Cambridge.

In general, Canada has awakened—or at least is awakening—to a real architectural sense. Our houses are commodious, seemly and dignified; so too are our banks and our hotels; even our railway stations show a glimmer; and such cities as Toronto and Ottawa and Victoria show dawnings of an appreciation of the kindred art of town planning.

I pass to the field of literature. If literature includes, as Sir John Bourinot quotes Matthew Arnold as maintaining, every written expression of the human spirit, not excepting treatises on ballistics or b-stearodipal-miten, then the time would fail me to tell, as Sir John endeavoured to tell, of the myriad productions of our brethren in Sections 3, 4, 5. In literature more normally so-called undoubtedly the greatest progress has been in the study of history. The enterprise and daring of various publishers has united with the widening activities of our historians to produce a series of works in which the point of view, if not always free from provincialism, is at least wider than that of Dent or Kingsford, and the writers of an elder day. I class Kingsford among these, for though several volumes of his monumental work were yet to appear when Sir John Bourinot wrote, its outlines were already drawn, and its style and proportions determined. "The Makers of Canada," "Canada, and its Provinces," "The Chronicles of Canada" are series which do credit, after all allowances are made, alike to authors and to publishers. The publications of the Champlain Society put at our disposal a wealth of historical material, and in form and matter do honour alike to the artistic skill of the printer and the sound learning of the historian.

Since 1896 the University of Toronto has published its "Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada," and in the present year of grace this has expanded into a quarterly, so that we now have a "Canadian Historical Review."

The West too is beginning to come to its own in the field of historical studies. Even in Sir John Bourinot's time we had

the narratives of such early fur-traders as Alexander Mackenzie, the Henrys, father and son, and David Harmon, but much the best history of the West had been written by an American, the late H. H. Bancroft. Now we have a school of western historians growing up, of whom Lawrence Burpee, Dr. Bryce and His Honour Judge Howay are honoured Fellows of this Society.

This great development in the past twenty-five years of painting and of history is directly connected with our increase in material wealth. Painting, more than any other art, demands a wealthy patron, and from the growth of public and private wealth have sprung the artistic schools of which I have spoken.

History is in the main an academic subject, and with the growth of wealth, there has come a growth of universities; six provinces now have Provincial Universities, and private or corporate beneficence has given Quebec two great institutions in Laval and McGill. As our universities have grown, so too has the study of history in them, till we now have not only Professors of History but historical departments; contact with the historical schools of Great Britain, promoted especially by the institution of the Rhodes Scholarships, has been a potent helper, and still more potent perhaps is the splendid work done by Dr. Doughty and his colleagues at the archives, more especially in London by Mr. H. P. Biggar. Ottawa is now the Mecca of the Canadian Historian; books, pamphlets, original MSS, and transcripts of European papers; here they are in rich profusion. Nor must I omit to mention Dr. Doughty's friend and colleague, Dr. Adam Shortt, who early set to us younger men the tradition of sound learning and of breadth of view, of dry-as-dust digging among our original sources combined with a constant touch with British and American scholarship.

Let us turn from Arts which demand the support either of a small body of wealthy patrons, or of enlightened universities and governments, to those whose roots must be set in a soil large and extended as well as deep and rich. Historians are people without imagination enough to be novelists, and novelists are people without imagination enough to be poets.

The history which we have been composing in Canada is thorough, self-respecting work; but it demands a trained mind and some breadth of outlook rather than those higher creative faculties which distinguish a Thucydides, a Michelet or a Carlyle. In the higher reaches of creative imagination we are still to some extent deficient; indeed we cannot be said in all respects even to have redeemed our early promise.

The causes of this are various, but one of them at least is to our honour, and would have pleased old Thomas Carlyle. We have wrought rather than written, have been laborious rather than lyrical. In time of peace we have built bridges and dug ditches, and brought our crops to market; in time of war we have poured out our blood; and we have left to a later generation to tell worthily the epic of the railway builders, and to sing the undying deeds of those whose rich blood is wrought into the essential fibre of our nation. Literature always comes late. As Hegel said "The owl of Minerva does not take her flight till the shades of eve begin to fall." Sir Sidney Lee has pointed out that till near the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth English Culture was almost wholly a reflexion of that of France and of Italy. England was not only breaking the might of Spain; she was also absorbing, assimilating, working into her national life all that was best of European art and life; till in Spenser and Shakespeare and the great Elizabethans—who were for the most part the great Jacobeans—the universal and the national were blended. So may it be with us!

In fiction I could name many names, and could give to each its just word of praise. That quick Canadian eye which made our intelligence work in France so admirable has not been idle in Canadian fiction. But it is on the whole true to say that since Sir John Bourinot's time few if any of our novelists have aimed high, have built on a grandiose plan; that we have no very great names, and that most of our work has been descriptive rather than interpretative. A paper presented to this section last year, "The Canadian Novel, its Future," by J. M. Gibbon, and since published in *The Canadian Bookman* for July, 1919, ventures the prophecy that Canada is soon to have "her prophet, in time likely her group of prophets who shall

interpret her many-sided but always vigorous life to her own people and to the nations who have accepted her as come of age." Another article in the same number of *The Canadian Bookman,* "The Canadian Novel, its Achievements," by Mr. E. J. Hathaway, shows that we can add a long list of names to those given by Sir John Bourinot. Gilbert Parker had in 1893 hardly swung above the horizon; Ralph Connor and Isabel Ecclestone Mackay had not described Scotch-Canadian life; for the west we were still dependent upon the great travellers and fur traders of the XVIII and early XIX centuries, or upon the historians; Norman Duncan, and Frederick William Wallace and W. Albert Hickman had not given us the thrill and terror of the Northern Atlantic and of the Labrador fisheries. Since then they have done so, though to compare them with Joseph Conrad is to see the difference between description and interpretation; and the time would fail me to tell of Stephen Leacock, and of Arthur Stringer and of Charles Roberts in his later role.

Yet when very sincere praise for good workmanship and real insight is given to them all the fact remains that there is as yet no school of Canadian fiction to compare with such a British school as that of Hugh Walpole and D. H. Lawrence and Compton Mackenzie, and the many others who trace their descent through Wells and Shaw to Samuel Butler. We have nothing to compare with the amazing wealth of the British novel since the later nineties. Our production is sporadic, unrelated, save perhaps in the case of the sea-stories of Duncan and Wallace and Hickman.

In poetry we are in still worse case. The Acadian School is dissolved. C. G. D. Roberts has published his collected works, and bidden farewell to Erato and Euterpe; Bliss Carman is fighting a gallant fight against disease, and has scant leisure for song; of the Ontario School Lampman died long years ago, and the fierce Highland heart of Wilfrid Campbell has found port after stormy seas. Of our newer poets John McCrae died leaving us one immortal lyric; from those still living we have from time to time verses which show that the fire still burns upon the altar; but two names only seem to me

worthy of extended notice, Marjorie Pickthall, and our own secretary, Duncan Campbell Scott.

In her little book, "Drift of Pinions," and in "The Lamp of Poor Souls" (1916), Miss Pickthall revealed a rare and sensitive talent. Few who have read them will not go back again and again to "Mary Shepherdess," or to "A Mother in Egypt" or to "Duna." Of late she has spread her strengthening wings for bolder flights, and has mastered blank verse; a short drama, "The Wood-Carver's Wife," in the *University Magazine* for April, 1920, represents a sustained and successful effort in blank verse, interwoven with short swallow flights of lyric. Alike in the blank verse and in the lyrics her word weaving is curiously and daintily felicitous. She has ceased to sing entirely in a minor key, and while she brings the eternal note of sadness in, she now grapples boldly with the deepest problems of human life and art, though always with the curious romantic restraint which she has caught from Rossetti and Swinburne, from the Irish singers such as Yeats and Moira O'Neill, and at times from *A Shropshire Lad;* but she has made their music her own, and her strain is reminiscent but not imitative. I would like to linger over her borrowing from Swinburne, so much finer and more purified than the long lolloping line which is all the Australians have taken from him.

But the most considerable body of poetry produced in Canada in the Twentieth Century is that of the poet who honours us by being the Secretary of this Society, Duncan Campbell Scott. In the intervals of his long and honourable career in the Department of Indian Affairs, Mr. Scott from time to time put forth his modest little volumes. His literary career has been singularly self-contained, and sets us a noble example in its freedom from any touch of affectation or self-advertisement. "The Magic House and Other Poems," appeared in 1893, the year of Sir John Bourinot's paper, and since then we have had "Labour, and the Angel," in 1898; "New World Lyrics and Ballads," in 1905; and "Lundy's Lane and Other Poems," in 1916; besides a volume of short stories: "In the Village of Viger" (1896), and other smaller and uncollected booklets. Each volume seems to me to be an improvement

upon the last, to show a steady development, to represent the gradual evolution of a temperament, not without a sensitive response to outside influences, yet essentially evolving rather than receiving.

Though not without response to many new impulses, though one of the first to essay *vers libre,* and to write it with restrained and rhythmic charm, Duncan Scott like Marjorie Pickthall carries on what was best in the Victorian tradition, and has that sense of form and restraint, that instinctive feeling that poetry must have a pattern so often lacked by our bolder and more brawling Georgian poets.

Both Marjorie Pickthall and Duncan Scott owe something to Canadian life. Scott especially owes much. One side of his poetry is indeed essentially Canadian. The landscape, the air, the clouds and their colours which he loves to describe, are essentially the landscape and the cloudscape of Canada. Much of his verse could only have been written by one who loved the forest and the prairie and the Indians. Miss Pickthall is more bookish, less essentially Canadian, but she too in her latest work has laid the scene in the early French days, and has delicately and yet boldly tinted in the flowers and berries of the Canadian summer. But on their larger side, the side of ideas, both are universal. The vague hope of eternity with which Scott closes his lines "In Memory of Edmund Morris," or Marjorie Pickthall's strange mediæval fancy of the woodcarver who slays his wife's lover to bring into her face the dumb despair of the Virgin over her dear dead son who is also her dear dead Lord, owes nothing to Canada, but is drawn from hearts that have pondered over love and hatred and envy and despair and the human heart and man's strange destiny.

But I have been able to linger so long over these two just because no others seem to me to have produced any bulk of work of equal merit. How different from the England which all through the war published its yearly volumes of Georgian verse; so that now the poets have almost ousted the novelists, and England is like a nest of singing birds, of some of whom I hope Professor Edgar will tell us to-morrow.

One reason for the comparative lack among us of

what is to me the highest form of creative art is found in the word "school" which I have used so often. "Poetry," says Wordsworth, "takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity." To put it in another way, Poetry is at once intensive and solitary. Most great literary movements have sprung from some coterie, or cénacle, or group. Not to speak of Athens or of Rome, it was so in the many literary movements of XIX Century France, whether Parnassians or Symbolists or neo-Catholics; it is so in England to-day. "As iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the face of his friend." In the contact of mind with mind the emotion is engendered, and then in the after tranquillity the poem is shaped. In Canada we have neither the groups nor the tranquillity. Duncan Scott would have been a greater poet had Lampman lived, and had certain others not moved away from Ottawa. Such coteries breed not only creation but criticism. Bourinot sighed for a good monthly, and lamented that we had but one literary weekly, *The Week*; now we have not even one. But we have at least three Quarterlies of merit: *Queen's Quarterly,* the oldest and in some ways still the best, which has appeared regularly since July, 1893, and whose uniformly high standard does honour to the Scotch tenacity of my own *Alma Mater; The University Magazine**,whose editor has laid under a heavy debt all students alike of politics and of poetry, and to whose wise discrimination we owe the first florescence of McCrae and of Marjorie Pickthall; and now *The Canadian Bookman,* from which we all hope that there may develop the much-needed school of Canadian literary criticism. Our other magazines or weeklies, such as *The Canadian Magazine, Maclean's,* or *Saturday Night* are vigorous and racy, but have for the most part but one eye upon the literary merit of their articles. Few gifts of greater value could be given to our Canadian life by a public spirited millionaire than that of a literary and political weekly, on the lines of *The Spectator, The New Statesman* or *The New Republic.*

Literary criticism has long been our weakest line. Though

[*Since this sentence was written, we have had to regret the cessation of this admirably conducted magazine.—Ed.]

The University Magazine has made an impression, and though the book-reviewing in our dailies is improving, we still tend with an uneasy arrogance which veils a real humility to hail each new imitator as "The Canadian Keats," or "The Canadian Kipling," or we indulge in a pitch of extravagant laudation in which all standards disappear.

Alexander McLachlan's verse, for example, is not unworthy of praise. He owed little to Canada, and had a typical Scotch mixture of religious mysticism and fierce political radicalism. Such stanzas as "Mystery," or "A Lang-Heidit Laddie" are true poetry. They owe nothing of their inspiration to Canada, but much to Burns and somewhat to Wordsworth. But in spite of their debt, there is in them a simplicity and a freshness which raise them far above the realm of mere imitation. But what can we do but lift our hands in despair when the Rev. E. H. Dewart, D.D., editor of McLachlan's completed work (Toronto, 1900), tells us that "In racy humour, in natural pathos, and in graphic portraiture of character, he will compare favourably with the great peasant bard. In moral grandeur and beauty he strikes higher notes than ever echoed from the harp of Burns." Or again, "In quiet contemplation and moralising he reminds us of Cowper and Wordsworth, both of whom he surpasses. His ardent love and worship of nature is akin to that of Wordsworth, but he clothes natural scenery and phenomena (especially the starry heavens, the sun and the seasons) with a spirituality, a pervading intelligence, a guiding glory and a fire hardly equalled in English literature."

Or, again, Isabella Valancey Crawford was a true poetess. She died young, worn out in the pursuit of literature, receiving too late the meed of praise which was her due. But what are we to think when Mr. J. W. Garvin, her editor, says:—"The more we study these children of her brain, the more we marvel at what she accomplished. What other poem in the language more powerfully and nobly expresses the divine right of man to freedom from slavery than 'The Helot'? What other dialect poem surpasses in conception, in humour and in heart-searching philosophy 'Old Spookes Pass'? What other epic of its kind excels 'Malcolm's Katie' in picturesque description, in brave-hearted purpose, and in tender constant passion?"

Let us hope that future editors will leave this style of criticism to the American slip-covers of American best-sellers. The literary criticism in *Canada and its Provinces* is sane, and both *Queen's Quarterly* and *The University Magazine* have done much to keep us in the paths of discretion, but the one really first-class bit of Canadian literary criticism by a Canadian is a little book entitled "Roberts and the Influences of His Time," by James Cappon, which originally appeared in the form of articles in the *Canadian Magazine*. Cappon, still one of our members, is a Scot by birth, a favourite pupil of Edward Caird; but he came many years ago to Canada, and threw in his lot whole-heartedly with us. "Roberts and the Influences of His Time" is slighter than a study by Sainte-Beuve or by Matthew Arnold, but like their work it is not only a sane and sympathetic criticism of the poet, but a real interpretation of the literary influences which have helped to fashion him.

I feel acutely that this paper has been too much a mere catalogue of names diversified with occasional impertinences. I would greatly have loved to go more deeply into the causes of our strength and of our weakness; to estimate the eventual effect of the war upon Canadian life; to discuss whether Prohibition and Poetry are compatible, and whether literature can conceivably flourish in the land of the Lord's Day Alliance; but these high themes must wait till another day, and I must go on to try to make at least one practical suggestion to this section for the furtherance of our work.

I have already spoken of our great need in Canada of a really good weekly. A further suggestion may be ventured, drawn from the experience of France. Our authors leave us to go to strange lands not alone for the sake of money, but for the same reason which led the sophists to Athens, which leads the provincial to London or to Paris—the need of a richer and a fuller life. But financial rewards and encouragements are not wholly to be despised. Long ago the muse of Manhattan Island sang to Charles Roberts:

> "You've piped at home, where none could pay,
> Till now, I trust your wits are riper,
> Make no delay, but come this way,
> And pipe for them that pay the piper."

Recently the Académie française celebrated the centenary of the Prix Montyon. Some of us remember how Canada thrilled when Fréchette received a similar prize from the Academy. Why should not one or other of our millionaires found one or more such prizes to be given by this society, at the recommendation of this section, to our rising novelists or poets or essayists or historians? The objections are obvious. There would be, as there are in Paris, accusations, not wholly foundationless, of jobbery and log-rolling. What matters it? Every way the kingdom of letters would be forwarded.

To our council we should commend further supplication to the Government for a National Library. They should storm and batter at the gates till that disgraceful lack is removed.

Another suggestion which must sooner or later come up for discussion is that of the enlargement, if not of the splitting of this section. While we must beware of exaggerating differences, while we must remember that even the starkest humanist has in him a touch of the scientist, and that in a sense even the binomial theorem is humane, we must recognize that the work of this section does in a very real sense divide itself into Belles-lettres and History on the one side; and Philosophy and Sociology and Economics and Folk-lore on the other. That they touch hands I admit, but so do the various sciences of sections 3, 4, and 5. The time is not yet ripe for division, but for an enlargement of numbers we are fully ready.

W. L. GRANT.

Upper Canada College.

CURRENT EVENTS.

The Coal Strike.

Of the economic consequences of the war the coal strike is as serious as any. It has reduced the output of British industry by at least a third for a quarter of the present year, and probably prevented a revival in trade of which there were signs in May. It is important, however, to realize that it was a consequence of the war. Before the war wages in the British coal industry varied from district to district, and corresponded pretty closely with the varying financial resources of the different fields. In South Wales, for example, they were almost double what they were in Somerset. The miners had formed the National Federation and were pressing for a national system of rates in place of these district variations. But they had no success, and the mine owners had been able to persist in their refusal to negotiate nationally. Speaking generally, it is the chief aim of organized labour in England to secure uniformity of conditions, and, so far as possible, equality of rates for the same work throughout the country—an aim that is not impracticable in a country so small in extent and so uniform in economic character as industrial Britain.

When the war came, the miners made a renewed attempt to get their end, making the claim that the war bonuses, which were rendered necessary by the rise in the cost of living, should be at a flat rate throughout the country. They did not, however, secure the concession until 1917, when Mr. Lloyd George had formed his first Coalition Government, and to induce Labour to participate in it had taken over the control of the mining industry. It is of importance to notice just what control meant. The actual administration of the mines remained in the old hands, but profits were limited to their pre-war figure, and the Government took over the control of the distribution of output, the fixing of prices, and the regulation of wages. From the spring of 1917 onward, all wage advances took the form of cost of living bonuses at a flat rate over the whole of the industry. There were altogether six of these advances, amounting in the aggregate by the end of 1920 to more than half the average earnings of the miners, taking the in-

dustry as a whole. This system of national flat-rate bonuses had an unforeseen and unintended effect. The different coal fields vary considerably in their financial capacity. In some the seams are becoming worked out and markets are local and poor, while in others production is still in the upgrade, and there is easy access to rich industrial markets and the even richer export market. The rate of wages therefore that was moderate in South Wales was more than could be carried by Somerset or Stafford, and the national uniform bonuses could in fact be paid only because the surplus profits on South Welsh coal were available to meet the deficit on Somerset and Stafford. During the greater part of 1920 more than half the coal fields of Great Britain were being run at a loss if the accounts were taken separately. On the industry as a whole, however, the Government made large profits.

Thus the war has enabled the miners to realize what was perhaps the chief aim of their trade union policy—a national system of wages. But this achievement was due to and conditioned by the war-time control of the industry. Only so long as the industry was financially unified could the rates of wages current at the beginning of this year be paid. If the pits were to revert to their former management, either wages must be reduced in many mines and the old variations between the districts be restored, or the owners would find themselves bankrupt. In the spring of 1919 at the time of the Sankey Commission the miners had devoted all their efforts to securing the permanent unification of their industry by national ownership and control. In this they were defeated, and it is probable that their chance of securing any kind of unification even for the limited purpose of introducing greater uniformity of wages was lost at that time. In the recent dispute they disclaimed any intention of forcing nationalization or even of preparing the way for it. They put forward a proposal that a fund should be created for the equalization of wages by a levy of so much per ton on all coal got to be charged as a cost. But the effect of this proposal turned on figures and it never reached the point of detailed discussion. If they were prepared to allow this levy to be made at the expense of their minimum district wages, it would have made no difference to the employers, would have been in effect a tax levied on the

miners themselves, and would not have involved any pooling of profits. If, on the other hand, they did not mean to accept any reduction in their district minimum wages, the levy could have come only out of profits and would in effect have amounted to a partial pooling of profits. However, the Government and the owners were too much afraid of anything that might perpetuate the existing control or lead to nationalization, and refused to discuss the proposal. The strike was fought simply on the issue of national versus district wages, and the miners were beaten.

In order to understand the terms of the settlement it is necessary to go back to the position of negotiations on the eve of the stoppage. For four months the miners and mine-owners had been endeavouring to find a basis of agreement under the system of private management to which the Government was determined to restore the industry. They had made considerable progress. They had agreed that wages should be governed by the economic capacity of the industry, that the first charge on the industry after the cost of materials, etc., had been met should be a minimum wage, that the second charge should be a standard profit per ton corresponding with this minimum wage, and finally that any surplus remaining after these charges had been met should be divided between miners and owners in some fixed proportion to be agreed on. It is of interest to note that the owners had agreed in principle to the establishment of joint committees representative of the two sides, to work out the details of the agreement, and particularly to decide what costs should be allowed before Labour's claim became operative, and had undertaken to open their books to independent auditors appointed by these joint committees who should ascertain what profits were actually being earned and ensure the carrying out of the agreement. What they were unable to agree on was whether the capacity of the industry and the minimum wage corresponding with it should be calculated on the results in the industry as a whole or separately district by district. The conflict was precipitated by the action of the Government in terminating control four months before the date to which it had pledged itself to continue control, because it found itself losing more than £1,000,000 sterling a week on the industry. The trade depres-

sion and the collapse of our foreign markets for coal had turned the export fields, which had been the chief source of profits in 1920, from an asset into a heavy liability.

On any smaller issue the miners would hardly have dared to fight. Trade was depressed, stocks of coal had accumulated, the summer was approaching, miners' funds were depleted by the unfortunate strike of November last: if the Government's calculation was that they would have to fight the miners some time before they could return the mines to their former private owners, undoubtedly last March was the time to precipitate the fight. The miners were beaten, and have gained little that is tangible from their prolonged resistance. Yet it is doubtful whether the question at issue could have been settled by anything except such a trial of strength. A national system of wages is a reasonable ideal for any trade union to aim at; on the other hand the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* in the industry was just as reasonable from the Government's point of view. The problem was merely the chief of a series of wages problems which are due to the profound and extensive dislocation of pre-war arrangements by war-time controls.

In conclusion it is of interest to note the details of the settlement. In principle it is the agreement negatived before the stoppage, with the district, not the industry as a whole, as its basis. There will be a minimum wage varying from district to district. This is to be the first charge on the proceeds of the industry in each district. The minimum wage will be the pre-war money wage plus 20%. Corresponding with this in each district there will be a standard profit bearing the proportion to wages of 17 to 83. Any surplus will be divided in the same proportion, 17% to capital and 83% to wages. There will be a national committee to determine what items are to be counted as legitimate costs before the distribution between labour and capital begins, and to interpret and elaborate anything that may prove to be obscure in the agreement.

To American eyes the miners' strike has sometimes seemed to be due to revolutionary influences. No such hypothesis is necessary. The intrinsic difficulty of re-settling wages after disturbances so profound as those caused by the world-war is quite sufficient explanation, and the difficulty of

re-settling wages finds a close parallel in the difficulty of re-settling wholesale and retail prices, which has caused the present trade depression. If this explanation is not satisfactory, the attention of the sceptic may be called to the fact that eleven hundred thousand miners were on strike for over three months without any serious disorder or the loss of a single life, a fact that no other country can parallel.

HENRY CLAY.

* * * * * * *

The Irish Settlement.

Towards the end of June Lord Birkenhead was everywhere criticized for his blunt declaration that the Irish question had come to be one "of ending a war." His phrase was not merely accurate, it was helpful: for amelioration of conditions was possible only when all parties concerned frankly admitted where they stood. There had been a state of war in Ireland for many months. Three-fourths of the population, willingly or under compulsion, had accepted the Republican cause. That cause they defended by the only means at their disposal, assassination, sudden assaults by men in plain clothes on more or less unprepared members of the opposing forces, and the destruction of government property. Their ethics were those of German submarine crews; or, to take a less odious parallel, of the earlier desperate champions of Italian liberties. Circumstances prohibited normal fighting; they believed intensely in their cause, so they fought for it along any line which offered itself, without a very close adherence to the maxims of morality. On the government side, things had come to the same evil pass. To crush an enemy so evasive, and so little bound by moral convention, the British forces struck when they could, and as they could. Even after the more odious forms of reprisal had been abandoned, the rule of violence by which they tried to crush the Irish guerilla warfare, violated that sense of decency and mercy which not even the great war has destroyed in the minds of the great majority of men in Britain. The casualties in this real, although disguised, war amounted in six months (from January, 1921) to some 322 killed and 453 wounded, on the British side, and to nearly 600 killed on the Irish side.

Nothing struck one so much on landing in Britain as the deep moral indignation with which large classes of the community resented the government policy in Ireland. They said nothing to condone the reign of assassination among the Sinn Feiners, but they felt that nothing could excuse the government for the stain with which they had defaced the good name of Great Britain. Oxford dons, recently returned from a visit to Dublin, told me, with quiet indignation, of the military motor lorry patrols in the Dublin streets, and of the indiscriminate fire with which they greeted the least threat of an attack. Old-fashioned Liberals echoed Mr. Asquith's many speeches denouncing the reprisals policy; and the Labour men combated the scandal with knowledge, persistence, and moral enthusiasm. The most lamentable aspect of the sorry business was the impotence of all the Christian churches to speak decisively on a point of Christian morals. Catholic and Protestant alike, with some illustrious exceptions, either spoke with faltering voice or seemed to hold that killing was no murder. As for the latent indignation, it was powerless so long as the one man who, for better or worse, dominates British politics, remained quiescent.

At last, in July, Mr. Lloyd George acted, and the situation was revolutionized. It is needless to examine all the motives which finally persuaded him—American feeling, the presence of the Dominion ministers, the reawakening of his own better self. An unhappy episode, with Lord Northcliffe as centre, has tended to obscure the reasons for, and the actual movers in, the change. The situation had indeed become impossible, and the deep fires of indignation in the minds of educated men were working to the surface. A happy phrase in King George's speech at Belfast on June 22nd was not so much a stimulus to his government as an indication of the direction in which they were tending. In that government, it is said that the Prime Minister himself and Mr. Winston Churchill were resolute for reconciliation, and it becomes more and more obvious that they have no intention of allowing trifles to halt their purpose. Chief credit, however, is due to the wisdom, experience and humanity of General Smuts, who did more than any other man to make a truce possible, and who promises

soon to be the most considerable statesman in the British Commonwealth, possibly in the world.

Four factors go to constitute the present situation: Sinn Fein, with its recent demand for "a neutral Irish state whose inviolability would be guaranteed by, say the United States and the states of the British Empire, and any other that could be secured as signatories"; Ulster, strong in possession of a Home Rule Parliament and still uttering notes of truculent religiosity; the Southern Unionists, fearful of a future in which Ulster may have forgotten them, and where they might be hostages in the midst of an alien population; and Great Britain, resolute to maintain her military and naval security in the British Isles, but otherwise sick to death of a problem where even good intentions only served to bring on her fresh discredit.

Each party bases its case on some irreducible minimum, but the outside observer tends to be confused by the reiterated claims which are usually made to conceal the actual character and dimensions of the minimum. When Sir James Craig left London, after the early negotiations, to comfort Belfast with the usual impossible and insolent phrases of Orange politics, it was "only pretty Fanny's way." The irreducible minimum for Ulster must be looked for elsewhere. When the publicity agent of Sinn Fein answered in a tone of similar rhodomontade, this talk of independence must be read as the gesture and shouts of an emotional bargainer, stating his impossible utmost, before settling down to business. Writing as a Scottish member of a younger, and, I think, well-intentioned progressive group, all pathetically friendly to Ireland, I confess that all this bluster irritates—life, and death, and our national honour are at stake, and these preliminary flourishes of the shillelagh seem at best irrelevant. Unfortunately, a century of blunders and bad faith has taught Ireland that reason is usually out of place in dealing with Britain.

The situation, nevertheless, moves, in spite of all, towards peace: and the central point of hope is to be found in the fixed determination of the Prime Minister to settle the matter out of hand. The conclusion must be a compromise. All parties have certain fixed and settled positions to defend: the settlement must include all these ultimate claims. The million and

a half of Ulstermen will take nothing less than absolute security in religion, and a very considerable measure of total autonomy. It is useless to say that they must act as Irishmen: they are Ulster Irishmen. It is futile to try to minimize their numbers by spreading them over all the counties of the North. The point is that they number a quarter of the nation, and that they cannot be coerced. In the same way, it is useless to talk of any solution which would give the new Ireland less independence than overseas dominions possess, or to treat it as anything but an indivisible unit. Ireland must be as independent as Canada, and as united. De Valera and his men will take nothing less. As for the British, all this talk of a neutral Ireland whose inviolability should be guaranteed by the United States is both foolish and irritating. No doubt the world hopes to grow peaceful, and no doubt the convention is now well established that American politicians usually neither say what they mean nor mean what they say. But recent memories of Mr. Daniel's naval sentiments and Senator Borah's feelings towards Great Britain hardly suggest their country as the guarantor of the security of the British seas. The most hopeful feature is that Great Britain now seems prepared to make any concession which is compatible with her own national safety and the rights of the Irish Protestants. The fate of Ireland lies absolutely in Irish hands. Will Ulster politicians be magnanimous enough to regard their rights as sufficiently protected, and act as citizens of an Ireland one and indivisible? Will Sinn Fein understand, what the history of Dominion government has made self-evident, that the status of real self-government carries with it expansive powers leading to the only independence possible to, and desirable by, sane politicians? Canadian independence is more indubitable than that of Belgium. New Zealand is free as none of the Balkan states are. Ireland, if all goes well, must take her place with Canada and New Zealand.

Of course, the light may fade. In case of partial failure it is barely conceivable that a southern Irish republic, with bankrupt finances, might try to face a gloomy future, with Ulster, always potentially hostile, on her northern flank. Should the failure be complete, there would be nothing for it but the recognition of Southern Ireland as a hostile state, and open war.

No doubt even that calamity would be less of a disaster than the ghastly struggle which has just ceased. But I cannot believe Irish (I do not say British) statesmanship is so bankrupt in common sense. Sinn Fein has already shown capacity for clear decisions and good administration in half a score of ways. Lord Midleton's leading of the Southern Unionists has been both magnanimous and patriotic. Even Sir James Craig's menacing speech left obvious byways for concessions, and no one ever questioned the energy and hard capacity of the North. The sun is really shining at long last in Ireland, and while prophecy is dangerous, I cannot refrain from ending with Gratton's famous words: "Ireland is now a nation. In that new character I hail her, and bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua.*"

* * * * * * *

The Pacific Question.

Comment on the Imperial Conference may be deferred until the general public has been more fully informed about the business which it transacted. But one matter of primary importance emerged there, and has since been brought before the notice of the world, in the proposed conference at Washington—the Japanese Question. On that question I find myself naturally taking a British, rather than a Canadian or American viewpoint. Stated in the manner most hostile to Great Britain, the trouble is, first, that the Anglo-Japanese treaty perpetuates the old diseased tradition in diplomacy, and in spite of all disclaimers, runs contrary to the spirit of the League of Nations; and, secondly, that the modern development of Japan as a colonizing and imperial power challenges the monopoly claimed by the white races in certain great territories, and threatens the maritime control of the Pacific, on which that monopoly is based.

It may be admitted frankly, at the outset, that the Treaty as conceived in 1902, and later, must go. But admission of defect in the Anglo-Japanese pact does not necessarily involve consent to the American-Canadian-Australasian case as put by extremists.

To begin with, the Japanese alliance served, not merely British, but general purposes, down to 1919. It checked Rus-

sian advances in China, when these would have been fatal to such liberties as continental Asia then possessed. It connected East and West with something closer than a mere casual nexus. And, granting that anything was useful which made the downfall of Germany more certain, it checkmated Germany in China, and released for service elsewhere some valuable units of British naval strength.[1]

In the second place it must be noted that, however self-regarding the motives of Britain and Japan may have been, the treaties were a challenge to advocates of that race antagonism which prevails in the United States and the Dominions, and which seems to me as full of menace for the future as European rivalries have proved full of disaster in the past. It cannot, I think, be denied that in Canada, Australasia and the United States there are groups of men as violently hostile to Japan as, say, France was to Germany and Germany to France, and that in their plans for the future these men view with equanimity just such another world catastrophe as occurred in 1914, except that this time racial hate will have taken the place of national jealousy. Thinking men in Britain and, one hopes, elsewhere, are not content to accept calmly so terrifying a possibility. Apart from that fundamental doctrine of our religion which regards all men as children of one God, political sanity bids us refrain from another crushing blow to civilization. Given the antagonism, the wise statesman asks, not how it may be cured by force, but how it can be turned into friendship.

To this the enemies of Japan naturally answer, not merely that Japanese imperialism grows by leaps and bounds into something as menacing as German imperialism was, but also that in that care for the safety of the white race, which is with us an instinct as deep as religion itself, we must safeguard North America, Australasia and such regions as are strategically related to these continents, against the ever-present pressure of Japanese immigration. It would be useless to deny the validity of the point. There are some ideas which nothing can alter in the policies of states, and I take

[1]Incidentally the division in which the writer served owed its safe conduct in 1918 through seas swarming with submarines to Japanese protection.

it that the Pacific states, British Columbia and the two Australasian dominions would sooner see their people deported forcibly from their lands than accept the doctrine of equal rights of immigration to yellow as to white. Politics deals with realities, and here is a fundamental fact. One issue, then, is whether Japan as leader of the great Asiatic races can be induced to accept this drastic limitation of her racial expansion without severing her ties of friendship and intercourse with the leading white races. Another, only less fundamental, is whether at the same time she will forgo that claim to control China which might seem to be her form of Monroe doctrine for Eastern Asia.

I have said that the Anglo-Japanese agreement in its old form must go—if indeed it has not already gone. It was mainly self-regarding in its conditions, and the world is sick of diplomatic self-seeking. It stimulated the imperialist temper in Japan by securing Japanese immunity from attack. It rendered difficult any useful criticism of Japanese activities in Korea and Manchuria. But only those bent on a kind of general suicide of civilized man can accept the irrational and inhuman doctrine of an unrelieved colour hostility. White inhabitants of the Pacific coast and of Australasia must be told that their attitude is one degree more criminal than that of the Frenchmen and Germans, whose sins and punishments form the subject of most of their international moralizings. True, the Pacific is broader than the Rhine, but then colour hatred is just so much broader and deeper than mere national hatred. Most of us have learned through bitter personal experience the evils of war, and we think that a war of colour will spell the end of Christian civilization and human happiness.

It seems to me that, granted a willingness in Britain to forgo her special ties and advantages through the treaty, she is the natural connecting link between white and yellow and brown. Guided no doubt by selfish motives to begin with, and forced by her imperial necessities to compromise and deal with peoples of colour different from her own, Great Britain has also been forced by these necessities into a higher moral position than that of the "yellow peril" school of politics. Let her surrender all the private advantages of her understanding with Japan; let her unite with those of her sister white states

who fear Japanese immigration, in fixing some reasonable *modus vivendi* with Asia. But it is a clear moral duty before the Empire to see that the connecting links of East with West are not rudely broken. It is because the coming conference so admirably combines all that is reasonable in the different national policies that one may acclaim it as the soundest of international measures. On that conference and its happy issue depend, not merely the immediate interests of the United States and the British dominions, but the future peace of the whole world.

J. L. MORISON.

Postscript: August 17th.

I leave what I had written before the calamitous news arrived that Sinn Fein intended to make the great refusal. The words were written on the assumption that reason played at least a minor part in the plans of the Irish leaders. But apparently *Alice in Wonderland* appeals to their imaginations rather than Aristotle's *Politics*. Grant all the injustices that ever were inflicted on them: allow even, which no sane man can, that Britain desired the ruin of Ireland with a kind of motiveless malignity. It would still be true that the terms offered Ireland, with a good faith which no one dare doubt, are not merely generous, but contain in them the certainty, in a few years, of a united Ireland, and the assurance of the most perfect freedom. Dominion status does more than confer self-governing institutions. It grants the right, to every people which has accepted it, of claiming actual independence whensoever they may elect to have it. No proviso or safeguard phrased in the interests of continual imperial union can prevent that. With this assurance for the future in their hands, Sinn Fein clings to the cheap unsatisfying melodramatic phrases which promise nothing but future disorder. They might have made a new flourishing, self-respecting state. If Mr. de Valera does indeed speak for the southern Irish people, the only alternatives seem to be either another preposterous little republic like those which have made Central America at

once a terror and a laughing-stock to its civilized neighbours, or recognition of a belligerent power with no future but a certain fearful looking forward.

J. L. M.

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Sir Lomer Gouin, long premier of Quebec, whose public services are happily to be continued in Dominion politics, needs no introduction to our readers. We welcome his fine plea for mutual understanding between the two great races of Canada.

Mr. Carleton Stanley, a graduate of Toronto and Oxford, who was the author of the article on Gibbon in our last number, is a critic of knowledge and discernment.

Mrs. Macdonnell recently graduated as Doctor of Philosophy in Queen's University, and communicates some results of her special studies.

Mr. Horne is professor of Economics in Patna College, and had special opportunities of watching Indian political movements during his service in the Indian Intelligence Department. Recently he has been lecturing on Indian Government at Harvard.

Professor Rose, a graduate of McGill, was the first Rhodes scholar to be elected Fellow of an Oxford College. He is now professor of Latin at Aberystwyth, and has devoted special attention to anthropological problems.

Miss Herrington is a graduate of Trinity College, Toronto. In this study of local history, presented to the Royal Society of Canada, she follows a path in which her father has done admirable pioneer work.

Mr. Duncan Campbell Scott, poet and administrator, President of the Royal Society of Canada, is well known to lovers of poetry. We are privileged to print a poem which will shortly appear in his new volume, *Beauty and Life.*

Professor Sandwell, of McGill, is the editor of the "Canadian Bookman," and as secretary of the vigorous Canadian Authors' Society has taken an active part in promoting the welfare of Canadian literature. We may mention that the 'Bookman,' in its new monthly form, is the organ of the Society.

Of our reviewers Principal Grant, of Upper Canada College, former professor of Colonial History in Queen's, is a well-known authority on Canadian history, and Mr. McArthur is a graduate of our history school, who has done good work in the Canadian Archives.

Professor A. E. Zimmern, the first holder of the chair of International Relations at Aberystwyth, is the author of the brilliant *Greek Commonwealth* and other works. An acute observer of political movements, he has recently attended the meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva and is now at the Washington Conference.

Dean Skelton is an old and valued contributor. Students of campaign literature will have noted the use made of his tribute to Mr. Meighen, which originally appeared in the *Quarterly.*

Dr. McNeill, Associate Professor of History in Queen's, communicates the results of recent observations of American political currents.

Queen's Quarterly.

VOL. XXIX October, November, December, 1921 No. 2

CONVOCATION ADDRESS

IT is a great pleasure for me to visit once more this very interesting City of Kingston, so picturesque, so rich in memories of the past, and always so active intellectually and industrially. I wish to assure you that I appreciate very much the great honour which Queen's College has just bestowed upon me by granting to me the dignity of a Doctor of Laws of this renowned seat of learning.

I wish to offer my sincere congratulations to the Professors of this great University for the splendid teaching which they impart to their students, a teaching which is the admirable result of their own scientific training; a practical lesson of energy and of patriotism. The scientific achievements of Queen's College are so well known all over this country and also abroad that it is not necessary for me to dwell upon them; it is sufficient to mention them. In Applied Sciences, in Economics, in History, the educational task which you have performed and which you are still carrying on constitutes a great and noble work of which I am proud as a Canadian. Your extra-mural courses offer to every young man in Canada an ideal opportunity to acquire instruction, whatever he may be, in whatever occupation he may toil. Thus, in spreading education not only within the revered walls of your Alma Mater but over the immense territory of our nine provinces you have rendered an immense service to the sacred cause of popular instruction.

I believe strongly that our Canadian Universities have a great part to play in the destinies of our Dominion; our future depends very much upon the formation given in our intellectual centres to the youth of Canada. On this particular point, I wish to congratulate you most heartily, because you make your students not only learned scholars but also good citizens, good Canadians. You teach here theoretically and practically an effective patriotism. You give us at the

same time men of thought and men of deeds. And, while speaking of men of thoughts and deeds I must say that I am glad to see among us tonight one of our fellow-citizens who is a remarkable illustration of energy and of culture, of practical business efficiency; a brilliant intelligence coupled with a powerful will, a sound mind and a warm heart; I mean my distinguished friend, Mr. Beatty, who is now presiding over the destinies of Queen's College as Chancellor.

I am deeply interested in all Canadian Universities, for many reasons, and thus last week I had the honour to take part in the celebration of McGill's Centennial. At those celebrations, which I will never forget on account of their solemn character and their spirit of high and earnest intellectualism, I had the pleasure to meet besides your Chancellor, your distinguished principal, Dr. Bruce Taylor. It was a great pleasure for us, people of Montreal, to welcome the representative of your Alma Mater in our city and thus to strengthen the bonds of friendship which exist between the various provinces of our vast country. I do not know the special motive which has caused you to confer upon me this title of Doctor of Laws. But for the token of esteem which you have bestowed upon me, I wish to thank you as a Canadian from the oldest province of Canada, and also in my quality of President of the French-speaking University of Montreal. Harmony between Ontario and Quebec is absolutely essential to the welfare of our Dominion. Through the Universities this harmony will be promoted and developed. Throw generously upon our Canadian soil the good seed of education and the rays of the sun which shines upon us all will raise a rich harvest of progress and prosperity. Education destroys prejudices and fanaticism just as Light, that divine thing, destroys darkness and causes all nightly terrors to disappear. Education is a great civilizing power, it is a great constructive asset for our young nation. A man who possesses the benefit of a good and sound education understands the necessity of toleration. Science tells him to respect the opinions of others and teaches him to take into account as scientific factors religious and racial differences. As remarked by your well known professor, Dean Skelton, Canada has been for three centuries the only home, the only country for us Canadians of French descent. We

look upon Canada as our Motherland. We must not be accused of provincialism, because our patriotism is not limited to the boundaries of Quebec, we consider the whole of Canada from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific as our own land. Any man in Canada who does not treat upon equal terms the French-Canadians because they descend from another race, any man who does not grant to all his fellow countrymen the fullest measure of fair play is not a good citizen because he does not work towards the harmonious development of our two great races upon our joint heirloom, the northern half of this continent. On behalf of the Province of Quebec, I wish to extend to the Province of Ontario an earnest appeal towards co-operation and friendship. I know that nowhere I could find ears better prepared than yours or more sympathetic to receive my words of peace and of Canadian brotherhood. Historically as well as from every other point of view, you constitute a centre ideally and truly *Canadian.* Here in Kingston, the old régime and the new meet, because your good old city was founded more than two centuries ago, by Frontenac the fighting Governor. This French name and the name of La Salle mingle in your glorious chronicles with the names of loyalists such as Bradstreet and Grass. The past teaches us that we have much in common, that the rivalries of old between England and France do not require the offspring of our two races to consider each other as hereditary enemies. We must retain from that past only its lessons of devotion and courage. We must not perpetuate the antagonisms of by-gone centuries. God has destined us to form links of the same chain and to weld together into a new nation the best qualities of England, Scotland, Ireland and France. Issued from such good stocks, we must be worthy of our ancestors. The teachings of our universities will enable us to realize the harmonious co-operation of our various elements, to subdue any bitterness arising from our differences. To whatever race we may belong, to whatever faith, party, or class, we must try with all our heart and soul to realize in fact the national unity of our gigantic Dominion, to give our country more than its constitutional unity, to make it actually one and indissoluble. Our patriotism must be broad enough to enable every one of us to be faithful to the ideal of our motherland, to be loyal

to his own faith and at the same time to give Canada the first place in his heart. We can be first and always Canadians and yet be true to our ancestral traditions. We may worship God in different manners, we may speak two different languages and yet be good Canadians, useful and honest citizens. The examples of Scotland, of Belgium, of South Africa are historical facts which prove that minorities can obtain justice and co-operate harmoniously with the majority for the welfare of their country. Let us apply to ourselves their lessons of fair-play, the same Christian toleration.

In this respect, Queen's College is an admirable school of enlightened patriotism, of justice and moderation. I have already admired in your interesting publications your broad and tolerant patriotism, your sincere and conscious Canadian spirit. Today, I have become more closely acquainted with you and particularly, I have contemplated the physical surroundings of your institution, which is situated amidst an ideal environment. The natural beauty of the country around Kingston, your wide landscapes, your immense lake, every feature combines with the glory of your local history to stimulate your studious ambition, to encourage you continuously in your research and to secure in a charming way the peace which is necessary to your studies. I have had the pleasure to visit your laboratories and your libraries. They are all excellently organized and everything is calculated to supply the youth of this Country with the intellectual food which it needs. If we travel beyond the bounds of this province and even of our country, if we turn our eyes towards the ancient seats of learning which are the pride of Great Britain: Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, or if we look at another fountain of knowledge to which the world owes much: Paris, we realize that by our origin, we belong to European culture. You have inherited here the best traditions of the great universities of the old world. Moreover, you have the special merit of having adapted your teaching to our Canadian needs. Your institution has availed itself very industriously of the development of the great intellectual centres of the United States. By a careful survey of the works edited by our neighbours, by a judicious and wise selection of the works offering useful comparisons for us, by a Canadian interpretation of our his-

tory and our economic development, you have proved abundantly that there was such a thing as Canadian culture. From the mysteries of Time, you have contributed in no small manner to evolve the Soul of our Country. I have always favoured studies abroad for an élite, but I have always said we must be self-sufficient intellectually, that our Canadian Universities should give to our students a truly Canadian education, namely the highest kind of education adapted to our own situation. Towards such an ideal goal, you have progressed rapidly, steadily, splendidly, you have made the most of the means at your disposal and you have rendered to our Canadian nation a great and conspicuous service. Let me congratulate you very sincerely, because education is a thing precious above all. This reminds me that in English law land is called "real" estate, but that, as observed by Russell, there is another property which deserves much better this epithet of "real" which remains after men have lost everything: it is Education.

> " When land and good are gone and spent
> Then learning is most excellent."

This property, this wealth which challenges all risks and all misfortunes, is not transferable by will, it is neither attachable nor assignable, but it can be divided and distributed indefinitely among all those who wish to acquire it.

Indeed, everybody will admit that Queen's College is a worthy guardian and a generous dispenser of this priceless treasure, of Education. For this reason, gentlemen, your institution deserves the sincere praise and the hearty support of every well meaning Canadian. Carry on your task which is a patriotic apostleship, carry on your great work with the disinterestedness and the devotion which is always yours, and History shall register in a place of honour the name of your institution. Once more, I thank you for having associated me with you by conferring upon me the title which I have just had the honour to receive.

LOMER GOUIN.

THE AUTHOR OF "EREWHON." *

**Samuel Butler, a Memoir,* by H. Festing Jones.
Samuel Butler, a Critical Study, by Gilbert Cannan.
Samuel Butler, by Edmund Gosse, Edinburgh Review, January, 1920.

EVEN in Ultima Thule it is now the vogue to write and talk about "Samuel Butler, Author of Erewhon." Nearly every one knows what has been said about him by Bernard Shaw, who has long been popular in Canada. Nearly every one has read *Erewhon* and the *Way of all Flesh*; nearly every one knows that Butler lived for a while in Canada, and was the author of a shocking psalm, *O God, O Montreal!* Nay, young ladies at our Universities have been known to read the *Note-books.* That is so much to the good. Four or five years ago it was possible to lecture to a Canadian audience of some culture, and discover later that many of the literate had come supposing from the title, "Samuel Butler, Author of Erewhon," that the lecturer had come upon a hitherto unknown work by the author of *Hudibras,* or perhaps, even, by the author of the *Analogy.* But the great bulk of Butler's works remains completely unknown.

I mean, unknown to the literate. To the readers of newspapers, "magazines," and novels it will always be unknown. These will read *Erewhon,* and enjoy it, as they should, and the *Way of all Flesh,* which they will but imperfectly understand, not having read the philosophic works, with allusions to which the novel is thickly sprinkled; indeed there are two or three threads of argument running through the fabric of the novel, and there taken for granted, which only the philosophic works make intelligible. Besides there is so much of Samuel Butler in Ernest Pontifex that the other writings are an almost indispensable gloss on the text. This is perhaps tantamount to a condemnation of the *Way of all Flesh quâ* novel. But the work is much more than a novel; it is one of the most revealing confessions in any language. To the literate however the other writings should be much better known.

They should know, for example, that Butler wrote one of the best biographies in our literature. The title of it, "The Life and Letters of Samuel Butler, Headmaster of Shrewsbury School, and afterwards Bishop of Lichfield," may in most ears promise two dull volumes, a veritable Holofernes-Barchester combination of tedium. But in the first place the subject of the book was probably a greater headmaster than Dr. Arnold, certainly much more a scholar; he brought into the episcopate an inconceivably greater amount of common sense and humanity than is usually allowed to intrude there, and he corresponded with some exceedingly bright letter-writers. In the next place his grandson and biographer, who was the greatest wit of his generation, could not be dull on any subject, grandfathers, headmasters or bishops. Many readers will find chapters which are hardly less amusing than Pepys. To the historian it is a mine of information on the very important half century which falls between 1790 and 1840, its scholarship, its educational institutions, its theology and ecclesiastical system, and not least, its social life. How often in the week the headmaster's wife should make hash, to use up the scraps —we are assured by the headmaster of Rugby that all schoolboys like hash—how careful she must be not to let her economies extend too far with the servants, "who cannot be put off with cheese in the evenings as the boys can;" how the boys went on a "beef-strike," and one of the Darwin boys (it seemed inevitable that Butlers and Darwins should disagree) went on a "blanket-strike"; and how out of all these things the headmaster was enabled to make Shrewsbury the first school in England, and at the same time to live most expensively and still put by £4000 a year—all this is very humorous and interesting reading; but it is not more humorous and interesting than many other things in the book. As a biography also it is a model. Its subject was better worth two volumes than is usually the case in "Lives" of that length. The biographer was in love with his subject, and wrote with infinite zest, but not idolatrously; the selection of material was most carefully made, no disproportion is apparent anywhere. Butler as usual shows here his grasp of essential features, and he makes them indelibly clear to his readers.

It was in the younger days of "Samuel Butler, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield," that the "religion of gloom," to use his own phrase, began to hold sway. And it was only in the later life of his grandson that its rule began to be relaxed. This had largely to do with the tragedy of the grandson's life. No one can understand Samuel Butler who does not know the history of England during these three generations, perhaps no one can understand him who has not himself been benighted in that "gloom." Now it is not an accident that one of the two passages in Butler's writings which allude to Canada is that fierce diatribe against the brother-in-law of Mr. Spurgeon's haberdasher. The gloom never settled on England as it settled on the English colonies, and in the colonies it lasted longer. Readers of *Oceana* will remember the amazement of Froude at the Sabbatarianism in Australia. *Oceana* is the result of observations made in 1884-5 and Froude's memory easily went back to the gloom at its height in England. But he found it inkier in the younger country. Butler's experience in Canada was precisely similar. It is a remarkable thing that the younger and freer countries should bind themselves to a canon ten times more Cimmerian than that of the older community; for it is clear that to find an analogy to our gloom one must, in England, go back to the mid-seventeenth century. It was from this earlier "gloom" that the New England austerity sprang, and in that case also the younger community outdid its parent. In that case moreover it was the younger community that clung to the tradition. Politically England abandoned the gloom in 1660, and as a moral force it was dead perhaps a generation later. But it was only the other day that there appeared one of the most notable of hundreds of volumes on the pilgrim tradition in America—the Autobiography of Henry Adams. Naturalists have long familiarized us with the rampant growth of a transplanted species. Rank and rampant is the growth of a transplanted religion.

Now in the seventies and eighties of the last century the "religion of the gloom" began to be dispelled in England; in Canada the fog shows signs of lifting at the present. Hence it is that Butler's book *The Fair Haven* should find many attentive readers. Of all the transient forms of literature per-

haps the most transient is that of theological debate. When the odious creed is *passé* who wishes to be reminded of it! In England therefore it is to the historian, or to one interested in every development of Butler, that *The Fair Haven* has much to say. But for the reasons given above, as well as for its humour, a Canadian or American reader is enthusiastic about the book as soon as it is drawn to his attention. In this special class of literature it is hard to name so good a book. *Father and Son* by Edmund Gosse is almost too painful a book to read. The *Reminiscences* of Ernest Belfort Bax, instructive as it is in many ways, is shallow. There have been many books describing the emancipation of an individual soul from the "gloom" which are obviously sincere descriptions of a great inner struggle. But none have touched it to the life as does *The Fair Haven.* The life-like narrative of the fictitious memoir in the book must strike all readers. No wonder that, appearing anonymously, it deceived all the critics,—as the *Journal of the Plague Year* took in many students of literature, and was long declared to be the account of an eye-witness. In the art of lying with a grave face Butler has often been compared with Swift. with whom he has indeed many resemblances. But it is with Defoe, the supreme master in this sort of thing, that Butler should here be compared. Of course, the *Journal,* like *Captain Singleton,* is sheer *tour de force,* whereas the *Fair Haven,* in everything but details, is a real autobiography. Again, the *Fair Haven* is so witty, so full of humour! The gloom left its mark on Butler, but it did not kill his fun. The fun however is not mere paradox and travesty; there is acute and witty argument everywhere.

We have said that the *Fair Haven* is autobiographical. All Butler's writings in a sense are so. We might use the old *cliché* from Goethe, that every page is the record of an inner struggle. Those who know him tell of his sitting, apparently vacantly staring into space, for hours together, with even his pipe laid aside. Things came slowly to him, despite his extraordinary flashes of genius, as in the case of the Holbein picture. And he developed very slowly and painfully, as did Ernest Pontifex, and John Pickard Owen. At college while his father was attempting to make a clergyman of him, he

seems to have been thinking alternately of literature and music, and so soon as the idea of the church was abandoned (shortly after taking his degree) it became his determination to be an artist, a determination he persisted in until he was thirty-five years old. Looking back to his earliest writings (certain undergraduate essays and parodies) one can see more than a germ of qualities that distinguished all his work; his downrightness of style, breathing a hatred of shams of any kind, and his wonderful gift of irony. But he learned to know himself very circuitously. One might put it in this way about Butler: that with a certain *naïveté* of mind there was coupled an extraordinarily keen logical sense; that the naïveté made him accept everything he heard and saw at its face value, until there came a moment when what he heard and saw did not go precisely on all fours, whereupon his logic drove him backwards and forwards until he came upon the source of contradiction. This is the character of both Ernest Pontifex and John Pickard Owen; it describes exactly Butler's experience with the Darwinian theory, as well as his religious experience. Or a Bergsonian might cite it as an example of the all important Time element; and point to Butler at one moment floundering in difficulties, and at the next sloughing off the creed he had grown out of, sloughing off an impossible theory of the universe, or an impossible profession, and with apparently the greatest ease. Time is the Absolute itself! But probably the former explanation is the better. In his personal relationship the naïveté seems to have been stronger than the logic. There was a simplicity about him that made him the prey of impostors. (Mr. Gosse, by the way, argues rather badly about the Pauli episode, and goes out of his way to commiserate Butler's father. If he had read Mr. Jones's Memoir carefully, he would know that Butler discovered early in life that his father had cheated him of a legacy. Even a simple person would be suspicious of his father after such a discovery! But until the very last Butler made no such discovery about Pauli.)

There is something of great autobiographical appositeness in the *Fair Haven,* which seems to have gone unnoticed. It occurs in the second chapter of the supposed memoir, where it

is deliberately laid down that a little truth should be diluted with much untruth if it is to be made acceptable to the mass of men; that every age has limitations which makes it unable to digest more than a certain amount of truth. William Bickersteth Owen therefore criticizes his brother:

> "Had he himself seen all that he ought to have seen from his own standpoint? Can any of us do so? The force of early bias and education, the force of intellectual surroundings, the force of natural timidity, the force of dullness, were things that he could appreciate and make allowance for in any other age, and among any other people than his own, but belonging to England and the Nineteenth Century, they had no place in his theory of Nature; they were inconceivable, unnatural, unpardonable, whenever they came into contact with the subject of Christian evidences."

How well Butler understood that the Jericho Walls of Prejudice will not fall at a single blast, that the Citadel of Ignorance is impregnable to a storming attack! And his own deliberate way of attack on Prejudice and Ignorance was Humour. That was his method in *The Fair Haven* as it had been in *Erewhon.* But there came a time in Butler's career when certain truths were so plain to him that he felt that all that he had to do was to set them plainly down in order to have others see them. This was when he was writing on Darwinism, and *The Fair Haven* had long been printed. Great was Butler's disappointment over the "inconceivable, unnatural, unpardonable" stupidity of his readers. Near the close of his life he returned to the ironical form of writing—in *Erewhon Revisited.* Accordingly while this passage of *The Fair Haven* is not autobiography, it has, as we have said, a strange autobiographic appositeness.

The Fair Haven is a sample of the books Butler was to devote most of his remaining life to producing—it is an excursion into a special subject by one who was not a specialist in that or any other subject. He was not a scientist yet he wrote four books on Evolution. He was not a Shakespearian scholar, nor even a student of Elizabethan literature, yet he professed to unravel the mystery of the Sonnets. He was in his youth a good classical scholar, but he abandoned reading the classics for most of a life-time before he turned to writing on the

Homeric question. Yet as Butler himself knew, this made largely for the merit of his writings. It is not only that he avoids the stale professionalism of the specialist. He stands a far-seen monument, one who adventured over distant seas of thought and bade his readers who accompanied him on his exciting voyages forget the dismal customary charts, and look for guidance to their own intelligence—there is no realm of knowledge, he held, which intellect cannot explore. On the other hand there is nothing approaching to sciolism in a page that Butler wrote. His writings on Homer are not like Mr. Gladstone's! Behind *The Fair Haven* there lay years of the most diligent and acute study of the Greek Testament, and of all the modern criticism of it. And before we say more of Butler's works on Darwinism let us remark that although Butler seemed to stray over many fields of human speculation and endeavour, he had a most unusual faculty for concentration, he lived a fairly long life, he was never idle a day from youth to age, he zealously avoided society in order that his time-table of study and writing might not be interfered with; further, that he was blessed with good health, and had that happy sort of student mind which finds one subject of study a relaxation from another. He could not half-do a thing. When he was asked to write a short account of his grandfather's life he must needs study all the voluminous correspondence, must spend years preparing, and then write a masterpiece.

In 1859 appeared Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Butler, at that time in New Zealand, did not get a copy of the work until about a year after its publication, but then read it with attention, and there began within him the ferment which did not clarify nor give him peace for many years to come. Once more the *naïveté* of his mind surrendered at discretion, but once more too his intelligence was not deadened by the complex idea which absorbed it. It is a mistake of course to suppose that Butler was wholly uninitiated in natural science. His father, a college friend of Charles Darwin, was a botanist of some repute, and in Butler's youth the home reeked of that atmosphere. Even later in life when relations between him and his father were most strained, he collected specimens for

him while on Alpine holidays. This is not to argue that Butler was a scientist. But we may observe that many years later more than one "scientific reviewer" was to assail Butler's works on Evolution who had not either at first or second hand, a tithe of his knowledge of the subject. The interest, however, which attaches to Butler's books on evolution is not scientific, it is philosophic. And there is in my opinion only one English book of the nineteenth century which ranks in importance to the philosophic student with Butler's *Life and Habit.* That book is F. H. Bradley's *Logic,* a book unlike *Life and Habit* in being thoroughly academic in tone, but like it in brilliance, in defiance of the intellectual vogue, and in containing criticism which shattered a whole system of thought. Bradley's work, now long out of print, and for long purposely relegated to oblivion by its author, is, however, interesting to none but philosophers. But any intelligent person could read *Life and Habit* with pleasure; and certainly no one interested in English prose writing can afford to neglect a study of it. Defoe and Swift have not written better, and even Swift is not so witty. I have more than once placed *Life and Habit* in the hands of well-read men and asked them afterwards whether they remembered an English book that was wittier. A unanimous negative is the answer I have received, though one of the readers who later read *The Fair Haven* corrected his answer and said he would incline to yield the palm for wit to the latter.

A very few quotations from *Life and Habit* must serve. In Chapter II, which is devoted to the argument that the most complete knowledge is the most unconscious and instinctive, this is found:

> "Again it has been often and truly said that it is not the conscious and self-styled sceptic, as Shelley for example, who is the true unbeliever. Such a man as Shelley will, as indeed his life abundantly proves, have more in common than not with the true unself-conscious believer. Gallio again, whose indifference to religious animosities has won him the cheapest immortality which, so far as I can remember, was ever yet won, was probably if the truth were known a person of the sincerest piety. It is the unconscious unbeliever who is the true infidel, however greatly he would be surprised to know the truth. Mr. Spurgeon was reported as having recently asked the Almighty

to 'change our rulers *as soon as possible*'! There lurks a more profound distrust of God's power in these words than in almost any open denial of his existence."

And from the same chapter:

"In (Bacon's) Essay on Friendship the great philosopher writes: 'Reading good books on morality is a little flat and dead.' Innocent, not to say pathetic, as this passage may sound, it is pregnant with painful inferences concerning Bacon's moral character. For if he knew that he found reading good books on morality a little flat and dead, it follows he must have tried to read them; nor is he saved by the fact that he found them a little flat and dead; for though this does indeed show that he had begun to be so familiar with a few first principles as to find it more or less exhausting to have his attention directed to them further—yet his words prove that they were not so incorporate with him that he should feel the loathing for further discourse on the matter which honest people commonly feel now. It will be remembered that he took bribes when he came to be Lord Chancellor."

Again, from the chapter on Conglomerate Personality and the Assimilation of Outside Matter:

"The moment living organism loses sight of its own position and antecedents, it is liable to immediate assimilation, and to be thus familiarized with the position and antecedents of some other creature. If any living organism be kept for a very short time in a position wholly different from what it has been accustomed to in its own life, and in the lives of its forefathers, it commonly loses its memories completely, once and forever; but it must immediately acquire new ones, for nothing can know nothing; everything must remember either its own antecedents or some one else's.. . A grain of corn, for example, has never been accustomed to find itself in a hen's stomach, neither it nor its forefathers. For a grain so placed leaves no offspring, and hence cannot transmit its experiences. The first minute or so after being eaten it may think it has just been sown, and begin to prepare for sprouting, but in a few seconds it discovers the environment to be unfamiliar, it therefore gets frightened, loses its head, is carried into the gizzard and comminuted among the gizzard stones. The hen succeeded in putting it into a position with which it was unfamiliar; from this it was an easy stage to assimilating it entirely. Once assimilated, the grain ceases any more to remember as a grain, but becomes initiated into all that happens to, and has happened to, fowls for countless ages. Then it will attack all other grains whenever it sees

> them; there is no such persecutor of grain as another grain when once it has fairly identified itself with a hen."

Many others of Butler's writings would suffice to establish him as one of our greatest humourists; but from every point of view I consider *Life and Habit* his best written and most important work, and I say this not unmindful of the fact that it involved sequels, in which the author amplified some of his views, and that he did not yet see how complete his breach was with the writings of Charles Darwin. Still, *Life and Habit* stands by itself, and Butler did not need to alter any of its brilliant paragraphs. Beginning with a careful demonstration of the fact that memory when most complete is not conscious, and that it may lie long dormant until stimulated, he goes on to the thesis that "individuality" or "personality" in the everyday sense of the words will not bear analysis. Our "self" contains many "selves" and it overlaps with other "selves" and indeed with many inanimate things such as food and experiences. Again, if the man is the "same person" as the youth, as the infant, is not the infant the "same person" as the embryo, and the embryo the "same person" as the cell, and the cell the "same person" as the parent or parents of the cell? Charles Darwin's grandfather had said that a child was the "elongation" of its parents—though Butler came on *his* work later. Again we speak of instincts as "inherited habit," and the phrase "experience of the race" is common. Now, if child and parents are the same "person"—using that expression in the loose way in which it is always used; we have seen above that it will not strictly bear analysis—the phrase "experience of the race" has some meaning, but not otherwise. And instinct is strikingly like habits or accomplishments which we remember so perfectly to do that we are not conscious of remembering at all. What then (is Butler's highly original supposition) if instinct is a case of unconscious memory? If it is so there are certain things that we should expect to find, happening in a certain way. Butler goes on to examine these. He finds an astonishing amount of evidence in favour of his theory—the relation of the age at which puberty takes place to longevity, for example; also the sterility of hybrids; and further, the theory illumines the whole

conception of evolution. Memory does not work exactly—the pianist will never perform a piece of music precisely in the same way twice; and, as a rule, the oftener he repeats it the better and less consciously he does it. The difference between his fortieth and his forty-first performance will not be very great, but between his fortieth and his thousandth will be great indeed. So, between one generation and the next of woodpeckers there will be not much change in adaptability of structure, but there will be a greatly increased degree of adaptability after millions and millions of generations.

Now if we connect instinct and development with memory we make them intelligent. "Blind instinct" is impossible. In the *Origin of Species* when the question of "variation" is raised, different and conflicting answers are given. Darwin at one time says it is spontaneous; at another he says it is due to "natural selection"—though in certain places he speaks of variation and selection as the same thing—and quite frequently we are told that the variations are due to "fortuitous circumstances." Sometimes Darwin admits that "use and disuse" contribute to variation (thus partly conceding Lamarck's thesis), but again he denies this, and in one place he distinctly criticizes Lamarck's theory as impossible. It was at this place that Butler began to feel his divergence from Charles Darwin. Whichever of his explanations he tried to follow up he saw that Darwin was hopelessly committed to the belief that evolution was a matter of blind chance. But if chance ruled how could anything evolve at all? If one slight variation came about in a generation, that variation would mate, a million chances to one, with the common run, and how could its progeny go further in the tendency itself had shown? Butler was profoundly convinced that evolution must be intelligent. The conviction was of long standing, and went back to his New Zealand days when he had written articles for the press on the intelligence of machines. That was paradox, but it was easy to go off from it to another consideration. Was not the gradual development of the microscope intelligent on the part of one generation of men after another —even though the earlier generations had no conception of

what their efforts would finally result in? Was not the gradual development of eyes in animals likewise intelligent?

Charles Darwin's son (now Sir Francis Darwin) came to call on Butler before he had finished *Life and Habit.* He told Butler that his theory of memory was one which had already been enounced by Professor Hering in a lecture in Vienna, and that Ray Lankester had written a notice of it in an English periodical. Butler was naturally excited over this, but resolved not to look up Hering until his own work was finished. He was for a time given pause by the chapter in the *Origin of Species* on the neuter insects, where Lamarck's theory was contemptuously dismissed. Lamarck's theory of development through "use and disuse" assumed intelligence in evolution, and if the neuter insects disposed of that might they not also dispose of him too? But on pondering the matter he came to see that the difficulty was only apparent, and that the instinct of the bees and the ants really strengthened his position. But the conversation with Francis Darwin, and the bandying about of the names of earlier evolutionists, made him resolve to learn all that had been written on the subject.

Before going on to Butler's *Evolution Old and New,* however, we must make a few further remarks on *Life and Habit.*

There are two passages in *Life and Habit* which really contain the gist of *God the Known and God the Unknown,* one the passage on "individual" man, who is made up of composite personalities which make up Life as a whole—the other the chapter on the instinct of neuter insects. Butler soon saw the implication of the first, and said so in *God the Known and God the Unknown.* But it was only later that he saw the full implication of what he had written on the neuter insects. This is a very noteworthy chapter indeed. On being struck by the similarity between habit, or "unconscious memory," and instinct Butler asked himself: "What if it is not mere analogy, what if they are one and the same thing?" He then felt his way from one part of the subject to the other by asking himself further: "If they are one and the same thing, what should we expect?" and found that the expected things invariably answered to the observed facts. But when he came to one thing, and that thing, unfortunately as it seemed for his

theory, the supreme instance of instinct, namely that of neuter bees and ants, his theory seemed to break down utterly. How could a neuter remember anything that a previous neuter had done! It was as though a gelding or a capon were supposed to transmit qualities that it, *quâ* gelding or capon, had acquired! How could a sterile thing transmit anything? And if the neuter bee remembered anything what could its memory be except the memory of being either a queen or a drone? But if that were all it could remember, then it could be nothing but a queen or a drone. Instead of remembering to have organs for the extraction and carrying of honey, and for building combs, it should have remembered to have genital organs.

This seemed an *impassé* indeed. But after looking at the stone wall for a while Butler began to see his way through it. In the first place there remained the difficulty which he had all along felt in the writings of the scientists he criticized. They talked of "inherited habit," of "the experience of the race," of "the accumulation of variations," though they had not gone on to identify parent or offspring, nor to see that habit could not be inherited without memory. In the cases previously considered Butler had found that "the experience of the race" was a good enough phrase if the word "memory" might also be allowed in connexion with it. Now in the beehive surely there was a good deal of "experience of the race." Such a highly developed sociological arrangement must surely have been the result of millions and millions of years of application to the science of sociology! Could Butler here, any more than before, talk of "experience of the race," and then utter the magic word "instinct" to account for everything? Darwin, it is true, had done so, and had even argued that the beehive and the antheap showed that instinct could not be habit inherited. No, Butler could not be satisfied with that. And then other analogies began to present themselves to his mind. For example, birds inherit the habit of flying, that is, they "instinctively" fly, and yet their parents have to teach them to fly. The "instinct," in other words, has to be prompted, or as Darwin had said, quoting Huber, " a little dose of judgement or reason has to be applied." Well, what happened in the hive? The eggs in the various cells, Butler

read, were apparently precisely the same to begin with, and the neuters, who were "nurses" as well as food-gatherers, could change their sex at will by administering different diet. If we can say that the young bird "remembers" flying when an older bird taught it in a previous generation to fly, surely we can say that the bee larva "remembers" growing itself a certain set of organs when a certain kind of food was supplied it in a previous generation, and so does grow them again when the same stimulus is given. It is more complicated to be sure, but then a bee-society is an extraordinarily complicated thing. And further, the bee larva is certainly the outcome of the whole of that extraordinarily complicated thing, and not of any part of it; just as a child, born into a very civilized society, is surely the product of the whole thing and not merely of his own parents. His own parents may be low in the scale of culture and yet he may bound at once into doing perfectly the things that the most cultured of the previous generation were imperfectly doing. So the bee-larva, narrowly speaking the child of reproducing parents (if the tautology may be allowed) may, when the "little dose of judgement or reason" is supplied to it by the neuters, become a neuter and inherit the qualities which previous neuters had. In short, instead of being a difficulty, the case of the neuter instincts is really a confirmation of Butler's theory.

And now to come back to our starting point: This observation of the beehive seems at once to widen the basis on which Life may reproduce itself, and intelligently, if unconsciously, reproduce itself. Butler later saw this, and with his madcap humour instanced the Church of England:

> "Take, again, the constitution of the Church of England. The bishops are the spiritual queens, the clergy are the neuter workers. They differ widely in structure (for dress must be considered as a part of structure), in the delicacy of the food they eat and the kind of house they inhabit, and also in many of their instincts, from the bishops, who are their spiritual parents. Not only this, but there are two distinct kinds of neuter workers—priests and deacons; and of the former there are deans, archdeacons, prebends, canons, rural deans, vicars, rectors, curates, yet all spiritually sterile. In spite of this sterility, however, is there anyone who will maintain that the widely differing structures and instincts of these castes are not

> due to spiritually inherited habit? Still less will he be inclined to do so when he reflects that by such slight modification of treatment as consecration and endowment any of them may be rendered spiritually fertile."—(Appendix to Revised Edition, *Life and Habit.*)

This is interesting, and I think accurate enough, and a good instance of Butler's humour. But perhaps other matters will strike the mind of the general reader. In literature and folklore, for instance, Life reproduces itself, with curious likenesses, once the "little dose of judgement" is applied. I am not thinking of such a likeness, say, as is seen between *Le Misanthrope* and *Beauchamp's Career.* There the "spiritual reproduction" is direct, Meredith was steeped in Molière and could not help himself. Consider it more generally. The broad conditions of life in Periclean Athens and Elizabethan England are similar, and their literatures are similar. Alexandrian literature is like French literature under Louis XIV. Certain conditions of human experience produce myth, certain other conditions produce metaphysics. And all human beings have in their bones both the myth and the metaphysics, as any one will admit. What every one will not admit, or rather what every one does not at once think of, is that the universality of the individual goes much farther than this. The human being, to take the individual we know best, is not only at once savage and Aristotle, at once ditcher and Michael Angelo; in the germ he is amœba, in the embryo he is fish, in "death" he is "inorganic matter." And all matter, organic and inorganic, Butler holds to be one, and all lives and all deaths he holds to be Life itself. (v. *God the Known and God the Unknown,* page 62, footnote.)

Evolution Old and New is an important work. It has been very much maligned. Many have said that Butler wrote it to convict Charles Darwin of plagiarism. Others have censured the author for attempting to revive scientific theories long exploded. Mr. Edmund Gosse calls it a "terrible book" and "unreadable." Now Butler, in 1860, and for long after, took the opening paragraph of the *Origin of Species* at its face value. There Charles Darwin claimed to have discovered the idea of species evolving from a primordial life. Darwin

had the disingenuous way (much complained of in *Luck or Cunning*) of "silently expunging" statements and phrases which Butler and other critics had complained of, as new editions of his "Magnum Opus" appeared. But though he did considerably soften down his claim of discovery the opening paragraph of his work still stands. That the paragraph did mischief not only in Butler's time, but later, can be seen from the fact that the ordinary man to-day, though he has never read the *Origin of Species*, knows the main ideas of the theory of evolution very well, and that he will tell you without hesitation that it was Charles Darwin who invented it. Surely this should be remembered by those literary critics who, while they admire Butler, try to shield Charles Darwin from the charge that he claimed originality where none could be claimed! The common criticism of *Evolution Old and New* and Butler's letters to the press which followed it, is that they were a nasty attack on a patient, laborious investigator; that the patient, laborious investigator did not deign to reply, leaving his claims to posterity; and it is generally implied that Darwin was a gentleman and Butler was not, or at least not quite. Even Mr. H. F. Jones, Butler's idolatrous biographer, does not clear himself from this point of view. He does, however, give ample evidence whereby one can judge the merits of the case.

And here we come to a famous literary quarrel, and one which, as Butler rightly thought, owed little of its interest to personalities, but which had to do with the honesty of science and literature.

It is natural that few writers should follow a policy of Thorough. It is almost a necessity of the case that they should take evidence at second, third, or even twenty-third hand. Butler's own maxim was Thorough, and he has thereby earned himself the title "inspired crank"! In *Evolution Old and New* we are shown that Professor Haeckel (*History of Creation*) was wofully ignorant of the beginnings of evolutionary thought. Huxley, profiting by Butler's work, showed much more knowledge of the subject later than he did in his article on it in the ninth edition of the *Britannica*. He did not acknowledge Butler's assistance; and for many years our

author observed that the whole chorus of little hangers-on to the Darwinian theory, such as Grant Allen, borrowed from his own work and at the same time wrote slashing attacks on him as an arm-chair scientist. But Charles Darwin's offence was much graver than this. At the same time as Butler was working on *Evolution New and Old* a German, Dr. Krause, was writing an account of Erasmus Darwin, grandfather of Charles. As soon as Butler's work appeared Charles Darwin sent a copy of it to Dr. Krause, telling him with extreme condescension that he need not take it too seriously. Krause's Essay on Erasmus Darwin had already been published, and it had already been arranged that an English translation of it should appear, to which Charles Darwin was to write a preface. But Krause now rewrote his original article, profiting largely, as Huxley and the others were doing, by Butler's book. At the same time he wrote into his article a criticism of Butler (who was of course not mentioned by name) for attempting to claim serious attention for the earlier writers on evolution, the inference being that all this work was mere guess-work and moonshine, and could not be considered a basis for Charles Darwin's theory. An English translation was then brought out under the sponsorship of the latter, who took pains to say in his preface that the translation was an accurate one, also, that the article, *herewith translated, had appeared before Butler's book!*

Butler did not know of course that there had been any correspondence between Darwin and Krause, but he felt that he must be crushed indeed if his ideas had been condemned by anticipation. At the same time he was puzzled by certain passages in the so-called translation, which he saw bore a curious similarity to his own work. He sent for a number of *Kosmos,* in which Darwin's preface stated that the original article had appeared, and set himself to learn German. He soon discovered that the original article was hopelessly unlike the translation, and went on to translate it for himself. Meantime he wrote privately to Darwin for an explanation. The latter replied with extreme brusqueness that a revision had been made by Krause of the original article, and that this was so customary a practice that he had not thought it worth while

to mention it. Not a word of his having prompted the revision by sending Butler's book to the author; no attempt to excuse the precision with which he had told the English-reading public that the book he was prefacing was a translation—the accuracy of which he went out of his way to vouch for—of an article which had appeared before Butler's book!

To the end of Darwin's life and afterwards Butler pursued him. He never ceased to acknowledge, as he had done from the beginning, that it was Charles Darwin who had caused the world to believe in evolution. But in letters to the press, and in his two later books on evolution, *Unconscious Memory* and *Luck or Cunning,* Butler took care to set Darwin's fraud before the public. In *Luck or Cunning* there is actually a chapter called *The Excised "My's"* to show how Darwin gradually softened down his claim to originality in succeeding editions. We are told too how he withdrew (silently) the phrase "the exploded theory of Lamarck" after Butler and others had shown what a respectable theory it was; and in general he is made to appear very disingenuous. Charles Darwin embittered a whole period of Butler's life, as his father and the pretensions of organized Christianity had embittered his early life; and it was only when other subjects than Darwin began to interest him that his writings once more became agreeable. By that time he was older and mellower, and nothing ever embittered him again. The disclosures about his impostor friend Pauli, for example, left him quite calm.

After Butler's death, Mr. H. F. Jones, who was preparing his biography, learned from Mr. Francis Darwin many facts which Butler had not known, and he published a little pamphlet on the quarrel, to which he gave the sub-title "A Step towards Reconciliation." These facts and the inferences drawn from them are repeated *in extenso* in the biography. To me it seems that the added facts make the case against Charles Darwin even more damaging than they appeared to Butler himself. Mr. Jones's work, a model of impartiality, does not mix up the facts with the author's theories; the reader is left to put things together for himself.

Mr. Gosse (a critic of merits so conspicuous that I am

alarmed to find myself so often disagreeing) lumps together *Evolution Old and New* and *Luck or Cunning* as "terrible works" and "unreadable." Enough has been said above of the former to show that it was an extremely useful book—one which filled a great gap in the history of thought. But it is also delightful reading. In Buffon and Lamarck Butler had great minds to deal with, and he did not miss his opportunity. But in Erasmus Darwin he had a subject especially to his liking. Besides being an original thinker, the older Darwin is an example of unconscious humour almost Gargantuan. Any one who can find Butler's treatment of him dull must have a strange twist of mind. But I should whole-heartedly agree with Mr. Gosse in calling *Luck or Cunning* a "terrible," in the sense of a "dull" book. It adds little to Butler's theory, it has interest only for those who are interested in the Butler-Darwin affair, or severally in Butler and Darwin. *Unconscious Memory* is, in comparison, a sprightly work—for its first fifty pages set forth Butler's account of the quarrel. Then follow a translation of Professor Hering's Essay on unconscious memory, and a comparison of it with Butler's theory, and an examination of Von Hartmann's work on the Philosophy of the Unconscious. It is an occasional book, but well written; dull in the investigation of Von Hartmann, whom Butler himself felt to be a very dull writer.

Most of the critics of Butler fight shy of his work on Homer, especially his theory connected with the Odyssey. Even the one who comes closest to grips (Mr. Gilbert Cannan) treats this side of Butler's work as the result of casting about for a congenial subject, and finding nothing better than a hobby-horse. I think it quite accurate to say that the Odyssey was a hard-ridden hobby-horse, and a fad, but perhaps the average reader of Butler finds his Homeric writing a riddle, which Mr. Cannan's chapter does nothing to solve. The classical scholar, who has read *Erewhon* and then begins to read what Butler has written on Homer, says, after going only a little way, "Oh, I see, it's all a joke." For my part I make this confession: For many years I did think it a joke, and even Mr. H. F. Jones's biographical note, published in 1913 as a preface to a collection of Butler's essays, was no deterrent

to my opinion. I merely thought Mr. Jones had been taken in; for it was obvious that he considered the *Authoress* serious. True, Butler had spent much time on the subject, and the irony, if irony it were, was pretty deep. Still, the jest of the *Fair Haven* had been very elaborate, and had taken in people who probably must have had as much humour as Mr. Jones; and, I thought, Butler persisted in his Homeric jest for many years, and printed no second edition with explanatory preface, because this proceeding had done him so much harm in the case of the *Fair Haven*—or merely because it was his whim! The idea of the joke I thought was obvious. Every one was writing his theory about Homer—even Mr. Gladstone, whose pompousness always was a mark for Butler in private conversation. For thousands of years the world had been pretty much content to accept a legend about the author of the poems. Then Wolf set the fashion for scepticism, and in Butler's day there were hardly two schoolmasters in England who agreed to agree on the subject. (In Canada, where we are a generation late in all such matters, High School boys are still required to get up the Wolfian theory, and read Jebb and Gladstone, when they have barely finished one book of the Iliad.) Now Butler, whether with the New Testament, or with the *Origin of Species,* was a stickler for the text, the whole text, and nothing but the text—I am not sure whether this likeness of his to Swift has ever been noticed; in the *Battle of the Books* Æsop is made to complain that Bentley had torn away his title page (by denying his antiquity) and defaced half his leaves.

And so, I thought, Butler determined to go the tribe of them one better. He appropriated for himself the theory that the Odyssey was written by a woman, and that the scenes described in it were really Sicilian. He had taken down his Homer again in connexion with some music he and Mr. Jones were composing, and was struck afresh, as every one must be who returns to Homer again when the tedium of grammar and glosses, corrupt texts and editors' opinions, are safely out of the way, by the extreme beauty of the work. And all this fresh and lovely imagination was being spoiled for defenceless

boys throughout the country. It was too bad! Here was another set of miserable men to satirize.

I thought, furthermore, that Butler's purpose was the same in his book on Shakespeare's Sonnets. They were going through much the same treatment as the Homeric poems. Every scribbling critic had an impulse to write at length on them. Lives of "dark ladies" were constructed by one and destroyed by another. Whole libraries were being written on the phrase "onlie begetter." Critics whom the "world honored," such as Sidney Lee, wrote first one thing and then another, and contradicted themselves even within two covers. One must show up Sidney Lee! And so, Butler, I thought, in the purest irony, invented a theory of his own. It could not be serious—his use of state papers to show that W. H. was a galley-cook on a man-of-war!

I still think that this was the spirit in which Butler went to work. But Mr. Jones's *Memoir* has somewhat spoiled *my* theory about Butler; and I have discovered too that I have in my mind been wronging Mr. Jones. He is an idolater, but he is not without a sense of humour. He was not taken in by the work on Homer and Shakespeare, for that work is not ironical. Whether begun with ironical intent or no—I am almost certain it was so begun—it became, as Mr. Cannan says, a hobby. Is this to say, then, that Butler began an elaborate hoax and cherished it until he came to be hoaxed himself? Did Butler go *insane* over Homer?

Hardly that! It is impossible for me to think that Butler ever did quite believe in it himself. Late in his life New Zealanders became patriotically interested in knowing precisely the geographical spot where the hero of *Erewhon* discovered the pass. And in writing to tell them that he had not been exact in his topography Butler chuckled to himself, "It's a good thing the Authoress of the Odyssey was not so careless." Precisely. This is why all of the Homeric and Shakespearian criticism Butler complained of is such unprofitable chat. Hegel's definition of art as matter utterly permeated by mind, whether we accept it or not, is apposite here. Even if we knew all the facts of Shakespeare's life, and all the facts about Mary Fitton, and if she *were* the "dark ladie," it would

profit us absolutely nothing in reading the Sonnets. Of such a truism Butler was of course constantly aware. He knew that the Admiralty charts in the British Museum, of which he professed to make so much use, could not help him to lay the scene of the Odyssey. He began ironically, but he had to have some arguments to build his irony on. It was obvious that the author of the Odyssey had a very vague knowledge of ship-craft, and of milking sheep and goats. And that might indicate an authoress. He then went on to find what else could be said for this theory, and naturally found a good deal. It was obvious that the author of the Odyssey knew a good deal of the Western Mediterranean, of both Italy and Sicily. That might indicate a Sicilian origin. Going further he found, naturally again, that a good deal more might be said for this theory.

Then Butler's passion for thoroughness got the better of him. He spent years in studying the text, and in memorizing it; he changed the scene of his summer holidays even to Sicily, to the impairment of his health (it is one of Mr. Gosse's errors to say that the *Authoress* was written because Butler holidayed in Sicily) he became, to use a phrase of his own, the tool of his idea. The original purpose of the work, the irony, was forgotten. The hobby-horse had stampeded. Butler's work, from this point on, was not humorous, as I once thought; it was serious. He was seriously trying to find how much could be said for his humorous theory, and Mr. Jones makes it plain that he was annoyed when Greek scholars did not take him seriously. Not that his humour had deserted him—he could chuckle over the topography of *Erewhon* ("fancy people wanting a geography of nowhere!" he must often have exclaimed). Nor does one need to write at length to prove that he must often have chuckled over the galley-cook, W. H.

I have written this much on the subject not in order to claim that I have explained anything—perhaps as the Shakespearian critics change their views about Mary Fitton, I shall change mine about these writings of Butler—but merely to show readers who will doubtless never turn up the *Authoress of the Odyssey* nor Butler's rearranging edition of the *Sonnets*

that there is something puzzling, a riddle, about part of Butler's work. It is cowardly to write about Butler and say nothing about it, and it is not very satisfactory to label it "fads" and pass on.

As to the merits of the books themselves I should advise no one to attempt the *Authoress of the Odyssey* nor the translations who is not interested in Homer and also interested in Butler. The essay on the Sonnets contains a very useful history of Shakespearian criticism up to Butler's time.

All Butler's books are wittily written. It is not correct to single out Butler's travel books—*Ex Voto* and *Alps and Sanctuaries* as especially so. There is much delightful writing in them, and those who are interested in North Italy and its votive art will read them (as the student of Homer will read the *Authoress* and find much delightful writing there) and they will, besides learning, doubtless for the first time, about Tabachetti, take a great deal of pleasure in Butler himself. This was the experience of Bishop Creighton. But it would be roundabout, in order to come on good writing, to take up the most occasional of the work of an out-of-the-way author. I cannot find words to describe Mr. Gosse's statement that the *Alps and Sanctuaries* is Butler at his best. Even when holidaying Butler had to be starting hares. He liked to holiday in places not too conventional, and the cantons in North Italy which he visited for many years just suited him. There it was his fortune to unearth the creator of a lot of work hitherto anonymous. His theories here were taken notice of, and Butler was glad to welcome to his aid an investigator who went even further than he had done, and to modify his own statements in view of the work of his ally. But it is plain that Butler did not write these books merely to call attention to his find. His holidays were very much a part of him. Some scenes that he loved to gaze upon, some peasants he loved to converse with, the thoughts that crowded on him as he went back year after year to visit these places—all these things demanded to be written about. But they were things connected with his holidays, after all, and he wrote about them in easy ambling style.

This lengthy essay must now close. It was always easy

to write a smart little article about Butler, using his novel, the *Erewhon* books and the *Note-Books* as a basis for it, and making some vague shop-front remarks, with a flourish of the names of his other works, about his "many-sided genius", and so forth. During two or three years the cheaper journals and periodicals have teemed with such articles. But now Mr. Jones's two volumes have opened up an easily accessible mine of knowledge where one may quarry awhile and then rush into print, with the same actual basis of knowledge as before, but enabled to make a parade of profound learning about Butler. Hence the glut of reviews during the last few months.* Mr. H. W. Nevinson's (London *Nation*, Oct. 25, 1919) is the only good one in all the dozens I have read—and it is excellent both on Butler and on Mr. Jones's fine biography. All that I have attempted to do in my pages is to lay emphasis where I think it is needed, and where it has not been laid before, in the hope that more people may be led to read more of Butler.

CARLETON W. STANLEY.

Montreal.

*Up to February, 1920.

SIR ROBERT PEEL—THE LAST PHASE.

ON Friday, June 25th, 1846, the Lords assented to the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the Commons defeated the Irish Coercion Bill. On Monday, the 28th, the Queen accepted the resignation of her ministers. Peel passed out of office, beaten by the most unscrupulous of combinations between Protectionist Tories rabid with hatred of the "traitor", and Whigs to whom the zest of power was considerably enhanced by the fact that the hateful repeal was not left for them to accomplish. He marked the change in his condition by that speech with its peroration about "abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened by a sense of injustice," which Charles Greville characterized as cheap rhetoric, and with its reference to the devoted labours of Richard Cobden which in Parliament offended Whig, Tory, and Peelite friend, alike.

Outside Parliament the impression made was rather different. There were some few men in England of sufficient detachment and insight to grasp the significance of what he had just done. "Peel's speech," wrote Arthur Stanley, "is to me the most affecting public event I ever remember. No return of Cicero from exile....., no Chatham dying in the House of Lords, could have been a grander sight than that great Minister retiring from office, giving the whole world Free Trade with one hand and universal peace with the other, and casting under foot the miserable factions which had dethroned him." Thomas Carlyle, none too ready to praise living Englishmen, told him: "By-and-by, as I believe, all England will say what already many a one begins to feel, that whatever were the spoken unveracities in Parliament—and they are many on all sides, lamentable to gods and men—here has a great veracity been *done* in Parliament, considerably our greatest for many years past, a strenuous, courageous, and manful thing, to which all of us that so see it are bound to give our loyal recognition and such furtherance as we can." And beyond these there was a great throng of unknown and inarticulate men, including those political nonentities directly benefited by his measure, and those (not inarticulate) gentle-

men represented by the Anti-Corn-Law League, but including also very many more of all shades of political opinion who without any particular claim to insight, and without any personal liking for the ex-minister, had nevertheless an instinctive confidence in his good sense, in his sanity, in his capacity for business, and (though with some hesitancy) in his honesty. "There is a very strong impression throughout the country among the well-informed and business-like middle classes", says Greville, whose ear was always open to the talk of the moment, "that Peel is the ablest of our public men, that his intentions are good, his principles sound, and his measures wise and skilful." "Without doubt," he adds later, "if the country were to be polled whether he (Lord Russell) or Peel should be Minister, there would be a great majority for Peel." "He lost his majority in Parliament," wrote John Bright, a favourable witness, but one who spoke from an intimate knowledge of working men, "but he gained a tenfold majority in the country, and the act which destroyed him as minister built up his name forever as a statesman."

Not everybody agreed with the course Peel took in resigning. Men as different as Cobden and the Duke of Wellington urged him to dissolve and appeal to that "tenfold majority." Gladstone, then a young and slightly restive subordinate, has left on record his concurrence with their advice. But Peel persisted in his purpose. He had been, as Gladstone himself told him, Prime Minister in a sense in which no other man had been since Mr. Pitt—the real head of the government, actually supervising all departments—and he was physically exhausted. To one or two of his trusted friends he had spoken of suffering excruciating pains in the head; to several he had shown the impression made on him by a remark of Macaulay's that no one over fifty had ever led the House of Commons. His sensitive nature was writhing, doubtless all the more keenly because of his physical condition, under the hail of insult and personal abuse to the accompaniment of which the Corn Bill had been passed. He was unwilling, having carried his great measure, to divide the country in an election in which the issue should be even ostensibly a piece of Irish legislation, more especially an Irish Coercion Bill. Moved by these various rea-

and declared to Sidney Herbert his intention of remaining in Parliament and acting for himself without party. His young lieutenant, plainly dubious, rejoined that he knew of no minister who had done so except Lord Bute, a bad precedent, but Peel countered by instancing the more respectable case of Lord Grenville, and held on his way.

His position at this time was a curious one. Despite the favourable estimate of the mass of the nation, in Parliament he was heartily trusted by few save his own personal friends. He was of course anathema to the great body of the Tories. The Whigs liked him little better. "There you sit," exulted Macaulay in the House at the moment of Peel's supreme sacrifice, "doing penance for the disingenuousness of years." "It is difficult," writes Greville, "to feel entire confidence in a man who is not really highminded." One finds an uneasy consciousness of his high ability, coupled with an equally uneasy suspicion that he might be using it to further no one knew what nefarious designs. The reason lay partly, of course, in his "treachery" of 1829 and of 1846, which was a deep shock to public feeling in a country and an age where party loyalty was counted one side of the honour of a gentleman. It lay partly also in his cold and somewhat diffident exterior, which was the protective armour of a sensitive and warm hearted nature, stiffened with a little intellectual pride, but which seemed to his contemporaries an evidence of secret and selfish schemings. The man who was "a bad horse to go up to in the stable," who sat "alone, as usual," when Hume went across the House to give him the news of the French Revolution in 1848, who "neither turned his head nor spoke" when some one hurried to him with the figures of his own defeat, who was said (though, as usual in such cases, falsely) never to speak his real mind except to his wife, was sure to breed mistrust and suspicion amongst those from whom he held aloof. Men who could not, like Carlyle, read the veracity of his acts, were ready enough to credit this unsociable being with spoken and also unspoken unveracities.

Of Peel's honesty there is no doubt in the mind of any man today. In the minds of his immediate followers there was no doubt of it in 1846. These men, a brilliant group of the ablest administrators of the day, younger than their leader

sons, avowed and unavowed, he stepped out of his uneasy seat, for the most part, held to him with a warm affectionate loyalty which was something far more than party spirit. He had given them every opportunity of usefulness; he opened his whole mind to them; he felt no jealousy of them, as indeed he could afford to feel none. And they repaid him by unswerving confidence. "Is he honest?" wrote Mr. Gladstone at this very time, "..this is a question which I think cannot justly be raised nor treated as admissible in the smallest degree by those who have known and worked with him." But one looks with much interest through the records of the four years that follow for answers to the two questions: did Parliament in general become convinced of his integrity? was he able to walk the path he marked out for himself, leading no party and following no leader, but singlehanded working out his purpose?

The answer to the first question is simple. No doubt there were many Tories by whom until death and after it he was abhorred. But Disraeli and the best of the party ceased to hate him once they had had their revenge. The Radicals had always had a good deal in common with him, and since his great recantation were free to admire his measures. The Whigs, ancient enemies, were slow of conviction, yet it was not long before even they began to see signs of grace in him—their vision doubtless sharpened by the assistance he was lending Lord John Russell. The first surprise to them was in his behaviour after his fall, which was not at all what might have been expected from a man of cold secretive nature, who had, moreover, no particular reason to love the Whigs. It is true that enough of them voted with him to carry the Corn Bill, but their support has been "grudging, lukewarm, casual (the words are Greville's); many of them had desired "no better than to see the Government in difficulties," and they had seized on the first even moderately decent excuse to turn him out. Yet "such a transfer of power from one Ministry to another the world never saw before——no rivalry, no mortification, no disappointment, no triumph, no coldness; all had been civility, cordiality, and the expression of feelings, not merely amicable but cordial." A conversation took place between Peel and Lord John Russell, "on Peel's part, cordial and unreserved, open beyond anything that Lord John could have expected,

telling him everything that it could be useful to him to know, much more than he need have done." (Greville.)

As time went on, and he held firm to his resolution to support Lord John and thus safeguard Free Trade, the comments of Whig observers began to hold a sort of incredulous satisfaction which at the present day sounds slightly amusing. "At present," Greville condescends to say, "he is certainly acting a very creditable part, and one, if he persists in it, which will redound to his honour and greatly increase his reputation." He did persist in it, and the sage prophecy has been fulfilled in a way which the prophet certainly never foresaw. The general burst of sorrow at his death was but the sudden voicing of the public opinion that had gradually been forming during those years.

The second question, also, we answer in the affirmative. For four years Peel held himself free from all orthodox party creeds, and lived by his own private one: Free Trade must be sustained. He was a man of deeply Conservative instincts, and drawing in double harness with the Whigs must often have galled him; in points of economic policy he was largely at one with the Radicals, but he differed by a whole hemisphere from their political programme. Yet under the circumstances the practical outcome of his private creed was a virtual alliance with Whigs and Radicals. Rightly or wrongly, he had come to the conclusion that if the Protectionists acceded to office they would repeal his measure, and that the only way to achieve his supreme purpose was to keep the Whigs in power. He alone could keep them there. Without his support Lord John had not the smallest chance of carrying on the government. Under normal circumstances he was in a minority in the House of something like 90, even allowing him the benefit of his Irish and Radical votes, on which he could not implicitly rely. If Lord John was to govern the country it could only be by Peel's assistance.

This assistance Peel gave, though never, of course, as a recognized supporter of the administration. It was impossible that he should follow any man in the House, least of all John Russell. His determination was simply, as one can gather it from his own letters, especially from those to Sir James Graham, to keep the Whigs in power as long as Free Trade still

seemed to him the greatest issue at stake. A Parliamentarian of forty years' standing, and a Cabinet Minister of twenty-four, he understood as well as any man the necessity of subordinating smaller considerations to greater, and until he saw some danger more serious than that of reimposed Protection he meant to keep the opponents of Protection at the helm. In the very last hour that more serious danger did threaten. His final and most worthy utterance in the House of Commons was the speech by which he arraigned Palmerston's foreign policy and justified his adverse vote on the Don Pacifico incident. But even in that matter, before the crisis had become so acute, he and Graham had written one another that though it was a choice of evils, yet on the whole Palmerston and his foreign policy were less to be feared than a new corn law. In all minor matters he followed the rule of supporting the government when they needed him. He stood manfully by them, for instance, in their determination to repeal the duty on slave-grown sugar, which he did not pretend to deny ran counter to his own policy, and in their proposal, in 1850, to abolish the Lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, though he admitted that he was dubious of its wisdom. In both cases, and in many other similar ones, he candidly avowed the reason for his vote. One cannot help suspecting a certain secret satisfaction in him when his conscience did allow him to vote in opposition. In April, 1847, for example, the government brought in a bill authorizing public assistance to three Irish railways. The move was a rather discreditable one, since it was but a few weeks since they had killed a precisely similar bill brought in by the Protectionists, and we may be sure that Peel would have supported it, if his aid had been necessary, with extreme reluctance. But the bill was safe enough (unless, indeed, the Protectionists also swallowed their principles.) He voted against it, and his speech, under all its grave manner, shows distinct zeal. It was not often, however, that he could allow himself a relaxation of this kind. For the most part Lord John needed him.

The question immediately presents itself, what gave Peel the power thus to prop up a tottering administration? It must be remembered that his friends, though popularly known as Peelites, never did, either before his death or afterwards,

form themselves into a third party. Some 112 Conservatives had voted with Sir Robert on the Corn Bill. In the election of 1847 some of these fell by the way, and in ensuing Parliaments only about 70 of them sat. Many or few, they had no party organization, much less party discipline. If they voted on the same side as Peel they did so freely and naturally, and not because there was a whip to count them. As a matter of fact, they frequently did not all vote with him. Some even from the inner circle of his late Cabinet were more than once against him. Goulburn, Gladstone and Cardwell voted in opposition on the sugar question, and it would be idle to deny that there was a stirring of dissatisfaction among the rank and file, who did not relish this apparent subservience to their life-long enemies, and who did tend more and more, especially after 1848, to drift back into the ranks of their old friends. But the fact remains that from among this array of free lances Sir Robert Peel was always able to call up a majority for Lord John on any measure which he espoused. How did he do it?

The answer may be found, I think, partly in his own speeches, partly in a certain aspect of his public life.

The speeches in themselves are almost enough to satisfy the inquirer. There is nothing in the Parliamentary Debates of the day at all comparable to them. Their most distinguished characteristic is, I think, just that quality of candour and fairmindedness which men suspected Peel of lacking, but which there is no manner of doubt they *felt* when he addressed the House; indeed it was probably some unformulated sense of the contradiction between the impressions left by his public utterances and those left by his manners and the bare facts of his political career which baffled men and angered them. Candid and fairminded, at all events, the speeches preeminently are. When, for instance, he discusses the Government's policy towards West Indian sugar-growers, he takes no narrow view; he admits that he himself would have preferred to see a duty left on slave-grown sugar, intimates that he had deliberately, as a sacrifice to the exigencies of Free Trade, acquiesced in the decision to take that duty off, but adds at the same time that after the corn legislation it was not possible to retain it much longer, and proceeds to ask what

can now be done to aid the employers of free labour. In his inquiry he dispassionately surveys the whole field, takes into account every possible factor, and then draws his conclusion. He refers to a committee under Lord George Bentinck's chairmanship which had been taking evidence on conditions in the West Indies, and asserts his own conviction, based upon that evidence, that much relief might be afforded by cutting down all official salaries save those of the principal officers, and by charging these on the British Exchequer, not on that of the islands. He examines the Government's proposal to spend £500,000 in direct relief by encouraging emigration to the West Indies, expresses his sympathy with its spirit and his belief in the value of a plentiful supply of labour, acquiesces in limited efforts in that direction, but points out the great practical difficulties in the way of carrying out emigration on a large scale, difficulties which Canada at that very time had good reason to know, and urges the expenditure of a large part of the money on such projects as drainage and irrigation, which, as he proves by particular instances, double or treble the productivity of the land thus treated. On such indirect means of relief he places his main reliance. Finally, with a telling reference to Abolitionist sentiment in the United States, to disturbances in Cuba, to the general democratic upheaval in Europe, he urges distressed planters to look forward to the inevitable day when slavery shall be abolished throughout the world as it now is in the British Empire. The whole speech is a long piece of evidence of Peel's desire to get past appearances to facts, and his conviction that the remedy to deep-seated ills is apt itself not to lie on the surface. The present generation will not readily join in the impatient gibes of Tory land-owners at Peel's obsession with drainage.

One of the best, because one of the briefest, examples of this candour is an address made to the tenants of his own estate in the winter of 1850, in which he tells them frankly that he does not believe there will henceforward, under Free Trade, be very high prices for agricultural products, and advises them to face the situation fairly, intimating his intention of doing the same thing himself in relation to their rents.

"When I undertake a general review of the relations in which we stand to each other, it will be upon principles which

I think you will allow to be just. I shall take into account all the considerations which fairly enter into the question—shall try to estimate the effect of recent legislation, and of improved means of conveyance, in relaxing not only the price of produce, but the cost of production also, and shall compare the disadvantage, to which the tenant-farmer may be exposed from competition with producers in other countries, with the benefit which he may derive, if he has ordinary skill and capital, from the abolition of duties on many articles which are, or may be, profitably consumed upon a farm."

In increasing the yield of their farms, he tells them—and the doctrine was not the commonplace then that it is today—lies their salvation. And he proposes to lay aside one-fifth of the next year's rent to be spent in measures to that end, among which he will give the preference to "drainage, to the removal of unnecessary fences (the reader will remember the hedgerows on Martin Poyser's farm), and to the means of preventing the waste of manure," adding the welcome words, "on this expenditure no return will be required from the tenant."

Of this letter that experienced farmer, Disraeli, characteristically observed, first, that Peel had succeeded in conveying the impression that his estate was in very bad condition, and second, that he appeared to regard drainage as a universal specific.

The very best example of the quality which I am trying to illustrate is Peel's last speech on the Don Pacifico affair, which is so well known that it need not be quoted.

I have given precedence to the qualities of candour and fairmindedness over that of intellectual ability, because I think that these are Peel's unique distinction. But of course the two aspects of his mind cannot be separated. No man can be really candid who does not take pains to inform himself of facts and who has not the mental power to go through the slow and forbidding labour of sifting and comparing his facts, rejecting this hypothesis and that because it does not square with them, until at last he comes to a conclusion which seems to him to answer to them. These pains, this labour, Peel underwent habitually. Speeches and letters alike are ponderous with a mass of detailed information only less remarkable

than the patient skill with which it is analysed and organized and used as steps leading up to a conclusion. One side of the case is never suppressed. Both are fairly held up to reader or listener, and he is asked to choose between them at last, as one feels that the statesman himself has already chosen, by the light of pure reason.

Now speaking and writing such as this is bound to impress any body of people. But Peel drew strength also from the moral position in which he stood. Whatever anyone might think of his tergiversation, no man could say that in carrying Catholic Emancipation or in repealing the Corn Laws he had served any selfish purpose of his own. In both cases, on the contrary, he had, as it seemed at the time, committed political suicide. It was eleven years before he regained power after the first great act; after the second he never, in the technical sense, regained it at all. Moreover, he had been singularly free from the faction which up to 1860 once and again disgraced the Whigs. His wise and moderate conduct after 1832, when even Lord John Russell credited him with making the Reform Act work, and again in the years we are at present considering, was a striking contrast to Whig shufflings over Appropriation Clauses and Irish Coercion Bills. Cold and mysterious and lacking in party loyalty he might be, but he had proved himself to be personally disinterested.

These qualities produced their effect. In the country at large the Tory squires hated him, but admitted, even while they execrated, his cleverness. The great bulk of the middle classes and working men (the latter not yet represented in Parliament) respected and trusted him, though on many points they might differ from him. The old-fashioned Whigs regarded him with an habitual distrust which strove oddly with a growing esteem. And the whole House of Commons, whether it loved or hated, felt the enormous weight of the authority which rested in him, and which sprang from his great ability, his mental honesty, his personal purity and unselfishness. His position during those last four years, sitting as "uncrowned king," swaying every decision of Parliament, is a striking illustration of the vast power inherent in intellectual force when it is combined with integrity both mental and moral.

This picture of his standing in the House is not one drawn

by the imagination. There is evidence for it on almost every page of the memoirs of the time. Greville searches his not very extensive vocabulary for admiring adjectives to characterize his speeches. They are "great," "able," "admirable." On one occasion Peel "came to the rescue" of a foundering government measure. On another he "came forward handsomely" to help. On another, the diarist tells us, "Many are waiting to hear Peel's speech, and will be guided by him." Almost invariably during these years, it is worth noting, he rises at the very close of the debate and makes his deliverance with something of the air of an arbiter pronouncing the final word. "No man can doubt", wrote Gladstone, "that he is the strong man of this Parliament—of this political generation." "The moral atmosphere of the House of Commons," he wrote long afterwards out of much experience, "has never since his death been quite the same, and is now widely different. He had a kind of authority there that was possessed by no one else." "I recollect," John Bright told the House in 1854, in pointed comment on a very different speech, "I recollect when Sir Robert Peel addressed the House on a dispute which threatened hostilities with the United States—I recollect the gravity of his countenance, the solemnity of his tone, his whole demeanour showing that he felt in his soul the responsibility that rested on him." More significant still, perhaps, in what it does not say, is Disraeli's endeavour, in 1850, to show that the old leader's hatred of him had before he died melted into goodwill.

Undoubtedly Peel found it difficult to reconcile his followers to this course of self-abnegation. There is abundance of evidence, which we need not stop to quote since their votes represent it, that they were restive under the calls he made on them, especially after Disraeli had begun reconstructing the Tory party on a platform of compensating the landed interest by revising and partially removing local taxation. They believed, and later events justified their belief, that this course proved the enemy's conviction that Protection must be relinquished, and they would have liked to turn out the Whigs, force the Tories into office, and see them abjure their old creed, as they did in 1852. But we know that while Disraeli himself had already changed his views he had not yet been

able to convert either Lord Derby or the rank and file of the party. Time was needed for that operation, and time Peel persisted in giving him. It is true that as year followed year, as the Whig administration tottered more and more visibly, Peel began to grow doubtful. Palmerston was embroiling England with France, Ireland was in the throes of the terrible distress and unrest following the famine, and the government was unable to produce a single really statesmanlike measure to meet the conditions. Its incapable finance, which followed the curious Whig tradition of incompetence, must have been peculiarly irritating to Peel. Slowly he seemed to be working towards the step, not of putting the Protectionists into power, but of assuming office once more himself, and appealing to the nation.

It was not to be. On June 29th, 1850, Peel fell from his horse on Constitution Hill, and in four days was dead. The deep and universal sorrow of the nation, manifested by the merest passers-by on the street, made plain at last what had become his place in the hearts of the common people as well as in Parliament. One of the tributes most striking in its very simplicity is a note in the diary of Macaulay. Eminently honest and sincere, but not unprejudiced, the Whig historian had long cherished bitter rancour against Peel. His sincerity makes the following words significant: "July 4. Poor Peel's death in the *Times*. I have been more affected by it than I could have believed...If he is buried publicly I will certainly follow his coffin. Once I little thought that I should have cried for his death."

"I never knew a man," said the straightforward old Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, "in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence, or in whom I saw a more invariable desire to promote the public service."

Men believed him—or at last opened their eyes to their own unconscious estimate of the dead. From that hour was established his reputation as one of England's greatest public men, compensating for the lack of flashing genius by his supreme loyalty to intellectual convictions, his openness of mind, his disinterestedness, and the slow massive intellect that relentlessly toiled its way to those convictions which the man was ready to obey at all hazards. URSILLA N. MACDONNELL.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA

AS in so many other parts of the world, conditions in India at the present time are the result of the gigantic upheaval caused by the War and of the universal ferment and unrest which form its aftermath. This is true of the political situation from whatever angle we view it.

Let us look, first of all, at the great strides which India has made in the world as a result of the part which she played in the great struggle. The sacrifices which India made in the common cause—and above all, the spirit in which those sacrifices were made—won for her a new and a proud place among the nations which make up the British Empire. The Colonial, or as it is now called, the Imperial Conference, though an institution of 30 years' standing, welcomed representatives of India to its council board for the first time in 1917. India's representatives are now assured a place in the councils of the Empire on an equal footing with representatives of the great self-governing colonies. This means that India's political status has been raised from that of a dependency to that of an equal. India, too, is an independent member of the League of Nations; and already, at the meetings of the Assembly of the League at Geneva, her representatives have made their voice heard. Like the Dominion governments, India has now her High Commissioner in London; and it will not be long before she has trade and consular agents to promote her interests and protect her nationals in other parts of the Empire.

Let us look, next, at India's own political condition. This has undergone very great changes indeed. Take, first of all, the Government of India, the supreme executive. Formerly this was dominated by the Anglo-Indian official. What is its composition today? It consists of the Viceroy (Lord Reading) and the Commander-in-Chief; of the other members at the present time three are natives of India, two are British officials, while the remaining seat (which has lately become vacant through the resignation of the Member for Commerce and Industry) will doubtless be filled by some one from England having the necessary business training and experience. This is the supreme executive in India as it is constituted to-day; and

no one can accuse it of being either overwhelmingly bureaucratic or overwhelmingly British. Next, take the Indian Legislature, consisting of two chambers. In the past the powers of that body, apart from its strictly legislative powers, have been very limited. It now enjoys a very large measure of control over the annual appropriations and over all taxation bills. India has also been granted, what she has long demanded, namely her fiscal liberty in relation to the other parts of the British Empire. This newly won liberty the Indian government and legislature have exercised this year to carry out a somewhat drastic revision of the tariff. The main object was additional revenue; but incidentally the new tariff gives substantial protection to Indian cotton manufacturers, and great in consequence has been the wrath of the Lancashire manufacturer.

So much for the central government. It is, however, in the field of provincial government that the most remarkable changes have taken place. Take the province from which I myself come, that of Bihar and Orissa. This is not one of the largest provinces; but it contains a population of 34 million persons. The Governor, the head of the executive, is a distinguished Bengali, Lord Sinha of Raipur. Now the appointment of an Indian to be in responsible charge of a great British province amounts in itself to something like a revolution. But the essential and radical change which has been made in the system of the provincial government throughout British India is this. Certain departments have been transferred entirely to Indian control, being administered by Indian ministers, who are responsible to an elected legislature in just the same way as the British ministry of the day is responsible to the House of Commons. These transferred departments include education, the excise revenue, agricultural and industrial development, public health and local self-government. In these departments British officials are no longer masters but servants; and in all these matters, which are of vital importance to the moral and material progress of the country, the last word lies with the elected representatives of the Indian people and the Indian ministers responsible to them.

This, in effect, is the first instalment of genuine Home Rule; and it has been made as generous as the circumstances of the country permit. India has made remarkable political pro-

gress during the past 50 years; but no one can seriously claim that the masses of the people are ready, or anything like ready, to support the full burden of self-government. In the meantime the task of maintaining law and order, the essential prerequisites of political progress, must remain in the strong and experienced hands of the British officials. Yet even in this field there have been great changes. The reserved departments, as they are called, are administered by the Governor and a small executive council. One-half of the members of this executive council are now Indians. Sometimes you have two British officials and two Indian public men; sometimes you have one official and one Indian. Moreover, the control of the provincial legislature over the annual appropriations for the reserved departments is very much greater than in the past; in the case of appropriations for the transferred departments it is final and absolute.

Add to all this that the commissioned ranks in the Army have now been opened to Indians; and that in the higher branches of the public services one-half of the posts, generally speaking, recruited for each year are now reserved for natives of India, so that the country in this way may be prepared to manage its own affairs.

That is one side of the shield. Let us now look at the other. There is a party in India, and it is a large party, which rejects the political reforms thus briefly enumerated as trifling and inadequate. It is a party which consists of so many heterogeneous elements that one really cannot say it has any common aim other than the determination, by one means or another, to bring to its knees the system of government as at present constituted. First, there is a relatively small and unimportant section, which desires progress for India along constitutional lines and under British guidance, but demands much more radical changes in the present system of government than the British parliament is willing immediately to grant. Second, there is a larger section which has set its face towards national independence. I need scarcely say that the two cases are very different; but the hopes of this section have been raised by the offer of virtual independence lately made to Egypt. Third, there is a section—not very large numerically, but capably led by men who are dan-

gerous fanatics—which desires to strike a blow for Turkey and for Islam by attacking established authority in India. This section, I have little doubt, is at the bottom of the recent very serious disorders on the Malabar coast.

Finally, there is the party led by Mr. Gandhi—the party, one might almost say, which is Mr. Gandhi. This party at present is in the ascendent. Now the aim of Mr. Gandhi is the spiritual regeneration of the Indian people. For him Western materialism, in all its forms, is an essentially evil thing. Hence the 'Satanic' British government must go. Indeed, Mr. Gandhi is opposed to all government which rests upon force, or upon anything but spiritual force; for he is the Tolstoy of India. Railways and cotton mills must go; and the people must return to the spinning wheel and the product of the hand-loom, if they are to regain their spiritual freedom. Education on Western lines must go. It is this item in Mr. Gandhi's creed which Rabindranath Tagore has lately denounced, saying that to shut out the light of Western knowledge would make India a prison house.

Mr. Gandhi is, no doubt, sincere; but, judged by all ordinary standards, he is utterly unpractical. Take his latest campaign, the boycott of the foreign piece-goods. Not only are foreign piece-goods to be burnt; but the Indian mill-made product is to be shunned. Wear nothing but the product of the hand-loom, is Mr. Gandhi's impassioned appeal to his fellow-countrymen. Now what are the facts? In round numbers the consumption of piece-goods in India is about 20 yards per head. Approximately 20 yards is imported, 5 yards is manufactured in the Indian and native-owned cotton mills, and only 5 yards is made on the hand-loom. So, at a time of severe economic stringency, the Indian masses are to compete for the odd 5 yards, or go naked.

I believe Mr. Gandhi to be sincere. I believe him also to be an impractical visionary. But the methods by which he is striving to realize his ends are the methods of the ordinary political agitator; and Mr. Gandhi, more than anyone else, is responsible for the continued ferment and unrest in India and the sporadic outbreaks of violence, which he is quite unable to control. Let us examine the tactics which he has adopted. First, he tried to make the Reform Act a dead letter by call-

ing upon his followers to boycott the first election last November. That attempt failed, and failed miserably. Next, he tried to paralyse the law-courts by calling upon the lawyers to give up practice. Next he called upon school and college students to quit their education. Lately he has been preaching an economic boycott. Every one of these campaigns has proved a failure; but each has contributed to the political unrest. Mr. Gandhi's last weapon, if all else fails, is to call upon the peasantry to refuse to pay their taxes; and so great is his spiritual influence throughout India that many would obey. I am very doubtful, however, whether Mr. Gandhi will have recourse to this last and desperate expedient. For this would inevitably result in wide-spread violence; and Mr. Gandhi has always dissociated himself personally from all idea of attempting a violent revolution.

This, then, is the situation; a trial of strength between established authority and Mr. Gandhi. The strength of the former lies in the political reforms which have been enacted with the support of all moderate elements in the country. The strength of the latter lies in his dominating personality and its unique appeal to the masses of his fellow-countrymen. What the final outcome will be the future alone will show.

E. A. HORNE.

Berkeley, California, the 6th October, 1921.

SIDELIGHTS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF MARRIAGE.

SINCE the ingenious writings of Bachofen and McLennan, two ideas have been widely prevalent with regard to the early forms of marriage: firstly, that all races, whatever their family- or clan-organization may now be, have at some period or other been matrilineal, as several (Khasis, Nairs, etc.) are to this day; secondly, that in connexion with the widespread if not universal custom of exogamy there has existed, in many if not all parts of the world, a system of marriage by capture, i.e., one by which the normal mode of obtaining a bride was to seize her by force from some other community.

That both these propositions contain at least an element of truth no one is likely to deny. Mother-right itself in its fullest form may be studied to this day among the Khasis, if nowhere else, and in less complete forms among many races; while even the most casual dipping into the vast literature of social anthropology will furnish anyone with plentiful examples, many of them beyond reasonable doubt, of the survival of a former matrilineal organization among races now patrilineal. The capture of the bride again is simulated in the customs of many races, ancient and modern (Greeks, Romans, Slavs, Welsh, etc.) with more or less realism; while individual cases of abduction in the most civilized modern communities prove to us that to steal a wife whether by force or fraud is no more an unnatural idea, however reprehensible, than to steal a loaf of bread or a five-pound note. Nevertheless, the present writer is strongly of opinion that the case for universal mother-right is not yet proved, probably never will be proved, and that marriage by capture was never normal anywhere at all, save perhaps in isolated cases and for a brief period.

With regard to the first proposition: in the first place Westermarck[1] has pointed out how unsatisfactory, in general, are many of the supposed survivals of mother-right; in the second, there is no *a priori* necessity for assuming such a stage in the history of mankind. Starting from the organization of the gorilla group, which we may reasonably suppose that

[1] *History of Human Marriage*[3], pp. 96 ff.

of our earliest ancestors to have resembled, we find a family consisting of a male, one or more females, and their offspring. These last, if themselves male, are cared for when young, but later tend to be driven out by the jealous old male. Now in such a case two courses are open to them, supposing some sort of rudimentary speech to have developed: (1) to visit by stealth the females of some other family. This would result in what we might call matrilocal marriage; the offspring of the young outcast males and the females visited by them would remain with their mothers until old enough to fend for themselves; and as the concept of relationship grew, they would be reckoned members of the clan to which their mothers belonged. Hence mother-right would arise. Or (2), the outcasts might each secure a mate and return, for greater security against enemies and convenience in getting food, to the original family, entering into some sort of informal agreement with their father to respect his mates if he would not rob them of theirs. In this case the offspring would stay with the father's group, and we should get father-right of a rough and primitive kind, the bond of union between the members being that they were all wives, sons, daughters, or daughters-in-law, of the old male, or else the descendants of such relations and connexions. According to the temper of the head of this primitive community, either kind of relationship might easily prevail in any individual case, or a combination of both might be found, stranger males being admitted to mate with the clan-father's daughters and granddaughters and his own male descendants being allowed to remain on with their imported wives. For that the wives would be, in many cases, imported, is fairly certain, since it is well known and recognized by breeders of various animals that a strange female excites sexual desire more powerfully than a familiar one.[2] Moreover, with either kind of relationship it is at least conceivable that either kind of nomenclature might prevail, though the tendency would be in the case of father-right to name the offspring after the mother's owner, or principal owner (the idea that he was also the begetter of the child

[2]See W. Heape, *Sex Antagonism* (London, 1913), pp. 63, 187.

would probably not yet have occurred), and in the case of mother-right, after the group to which the mother belonged.[3]

The work of Bachofen,[4] which started the long discussion of this form of kinship, may with advantage be briefly characterized here. Its author's immense learning is as undeniable as his industry and ingenuity; but an examination of his book shows that his knowledge, though profound as far as it went, was limited in scope. The Greek and Roman evidence he knew thoroughly; with India he had such acquaintance as might be gained from translations and other such works; other countries beyond those mentioned by classical authors, he had studied in a casual way, reading, it would appear, any books which he came across and missing not a few (such as Lafitau's *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains*) which might have helped him. How indeed could it have been otherwise, when scientific ethnology had as yet hardly begun? Similarly in the interpretation of ancient myths, he is at the mercy of the imperfect methods of his time; and how prone his contemporaries and himself were to spin elaborate cobwebs out of very little is obvious to anyone who reads his 26th section, on Theseus and the Amazons, or the older *Symbolik* of Creuzer, which had clearly influenced him.

It is therefore natural enough that many of his arguments are now seen to be no arguments at all, but mere fancies, more or less ingenious; and indeed most of them have been consigned to this fate long ago. One in particular, however, and in appearance one of the soundest, has had a long run, and with that I propose to deal.

Several times (e.g., pp. 79b, 88), Bachofen emphasizes the fact that under mother-right marriage with a man of foreign or inferior birth is a likely occurrence. Such a husband would be an outsider in his wife's clan, but his own inferiority would in no way affect the status of the children, who would as usual inherit from their mother. This type of marriage (*beena*) plays a large part in Robertson Smith's

[3]The above suggestion is not original, but I cannot at present trace it to its source.

[4]*Das Mutterrecht*, Basel, 1861. I use the unaltered posthumous reprint of 1897.

Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.[5] That it is a survival of an earlier system of mother-right when we meet with it among patrilineal races is a widely-held theory and indeed very likely a true one for such peoples as the Arabs, among whom much other evidence points to former mother-right; but I hope to show that it is found flourishing where mother-right has long ceased to exist; that it exists among people in whose case former mother-right has never been proved; and finally that it may come into being or at least be recognized in a patrilineal state enjoying a high civilization.

Among the Slavs some faint traces of former mother-right have been thought to exist,[6] but it is certain that they have now been patrilineal for a long time,[7] Serbian national poetry for example showing no recollection of any other organization. Yet among the Yugo-Slavs at least it is, or recently was, possible to contract a marriage of the *beena* type. An outcast from his own household, being without rights or property of any sort, is at liberty to reside with another household if they will have him, in a dependent position. If in such a household a daughter be heir to the family property in defect of sons, the *ulyez* (new-comer) or *pripust* (allowed in) as the outcast is called, may be allowed to marry this daughter. But though in the official (ecclesiastical) view such a man is his wife's lord and master, practically he is no such thing. His economic rights are *nil*; he cannot so much as pour out a glass of wine without permission; if the house-father dies, his wife and not he is heir, and she can turn him out of the house if she pleases. The children, and he too, take the family name of the wife. In all respects he is the inferior of his wife, indeed in a lower position, it would seem, than the *jâr* of an Arabian clan.

Now it may be said that this is an isolated piece of matrilineal legislation, preserved when the rest of the system was abandoned because it was still occasionally useful. So indeed

[5]Second ed. (London, 1903), pp. 87, 102, 127, etc.

[6]I. N. Smirnov, *Outline of the Cultural History of the S. Slavs*, Kazan, 1900 (in Russian), p. 175.

[7]Smirnov, *ibid.*; cf. Maxime Kovalevsky, *Ancient Laws of Russia, passim.*

it may be among the Slavs, if it can be made out with tolerable cogency from other considerations that they once were matrilineal; but it is noteworthy that as we have it the custom has a strong patrilineal flavour, inasmuch as the daughter of the house does not give herself to the stranger of her own accord, but with the authorization of the house-father, without whom no marriage could take place.

From the Slavs we turn to the Dorian Cretans. In the great inscription of Gortyn,[8] dating perhaps from about B.C. 450 and containing the code of laws of that city, we find the following regulations, col. VII, 1 ff. [*αἴ κ' ὁ δῶλος*] (the restoration is practically certain) *ἐπὶ τὰν ἐλευθέραν ἐλθὼν ὀπυίηι, ἐλευθέρ' ἦμεν τὰ τέκνα· αἰ δέ κ' ἀ ἐλευθέρα ἐπὶ τὸν δῶλον, δῶλ' ἦμεν τὰ τέκνα.*

That is to say: "If a slave come to a free woman and marry her, the children are to be free; but if the free woman go to the slave, the children shall be slave." It is obvious from several passages that the slaves in Gortyn were not the degraded and unprotected class they were in republican Rome. A slave had a legal remedy against false arrest (I, 1, ff.); a slave-woman was protected against indecent assault (II, 11), and her evidence was valid in such a case (*ibid.* 15). The present passage shows that they could contract legal marriages (*ὀπυίηι*, the regular word for legal marriage, several times in cols. VII and VIII; illicit intercourse is signified by *αἴ κα... οἴφηι*, II, 5). But they were inferior, not only to citizens, but to resident aliens of free status (see II, 5, 9). Besides the general considerations I have elsewhere urged in favour of the Greeks being patrilineal from the earliest times of which we have any tradition,[9] it is abundantly clear that the Gortynians were so at this date; a woman is under the immediate guar-

[8]Most accessible in Collitz-Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1905), 4991. For a list of earlier publications and discussions of the text, see *ibid.*, p. 261. The exact date is uncertain, as there is no indication other than the style of the lettering, which in Crete cannot be very closely dated.

[9]*On the alleged evidence for Mother-Right in Early Greece, Folk-Lore*, Sept. 1911 (Vol. xxii).

dianship of her father, brother or husband (II, 21); failing them, of her nearest agnates (VIII, 15), and ultimately, it would seem, of her father's or husband's clan (*ibid.*, and 33). Yet here we have a "matrilineal" marriage. The principle seems to have been, as Collitz-Bechtel suggest in their note, p. 274, that the domicile was the deciding factor. The same woman, we learn a few lines further down (VII, 5, ff.), might have both slave and free children, both it would seem legitimate, though the latter could not inherit from her.

But be the Gortynian system what it may, no one will claim that the Romans in the principate of Hadrian were matrilineal. Yet that prince put through the senate a bill[10] providing that the child of a father of Latin right and a mother who was a full Roman citizeness, despite the precept that the children of parents capable of contracting civil marriage (*quibus conubium est*) follow the condition of their father,[11] should be a Roman and not a Latin. This is so opposed to the general principles of the inheritance of status (see Poste-Whittuck's *Gaius*[4], p. 56) that some explanation of it seems necessary. And here at least we can hardly appeal to mother-right to help us out. If such an institution ever existed in Rome, which I doubt,[12] it must have been extinct long before the beginning of our era, for the *patria potestas* is clearly much older than the XII Tables. How then could this rule (of which we hear nothing till Hadrian brings it forward, perhaps to relieve one of those hard cases which proverbially make bad law) possibly be a survival, after a millennium or so, of a state of things no Roman of that day ever dreamed of as being a Roman institution?

I would explain all three of these curious cases, not as survivals, which are after all much likelier to result in a religious or magical practice, a rule of etiquette, or a departure from the received ethics of the higher civilization, than in anything affecting so economically and politically important a matter as inheritance and status, but as an attempt to evade the undesirable consequences of that stock patrilineal maxim, *mulier finis familiae.*

[10] *Gaius* I, 30, 80.

[11] *Ibid.* 56 and often.

[12] See my article, *Italian Mother-Right, Folk-Lore* XXXI (1920), pp. 93 ff.

A family which has daughters but no sons is common enough, even apart from the abnormal conditions produced by the late war, in our own day; in an early and warlike civilization, like that of the Cretans, or the Slavs of a millennium or more ago, it must have been commoner still, owing to the constant petty wars and feuds and the consequently better chances of survival of the women. But supposing a family, once the idea of family as distinct from clan[13] arose, left with only daughters to inherit; what then? If the inheriting daughter follows the usual custom and marries a man of another clan or family, her father has the chagrin of seeing the property on its way to pass out of his direct line; and, what is at least equally important, he may have good reason to suppose that the new master of the house will perform the rites to the ancestral shades in but a perfunctory way, to his own great discomfort in the next world. But if his daughter remains unmarried, either the line becomes wholly extinct, or her children are illegitimate and cannot inherit. The natural way out of the difficulty, and one which I fancy was often adopted, was to marry her to a broken man, who being free could beget lawful children, but being landless could be kept in proper subjection, as we see the *ulyez* husband is, and not interfere with property or *sacra,* and who had no family to make a claim for him. At the same time such an expedient must not be made an excuse for loose conduct; the Cretan heiress may not visit a slave-lover,[14] but remain content with the slave-husband who, I conjecture, was chosen for her by her next-of-kin and in some way given a kind of brevet rank as a free man, *liberorum quaerendorum causa.* Or if she does prove unfaithful, her action, however regrettable, will not alter the succession, for the children of her slave-paramour will themselves be slaves.[15]

[13]I assume that the undivided clan, with group-relationship, is earlier than the family, and not composed of an assemblage of pre-existing families.

[14]For Rome, cf. the SC Claudianum, *Gaius* I, 84, 86, 160.

[15]We may perhaps note that the verb ὀπυίηι is used only of the slave who "goes to" the free woman, but it may fairly be supplied in the second clause also.

Passing now to the question of marriage by capture, it is no longer a matter of criticizing one theory, but of deciding between two. The facts are undoubted; simulated capture is very common in marriage rites everywhere. The interpretations offered are, firstly, that of McLennan.[16] According to his idea, exogamy in early days was regularly accomplished by the actual capture of women from some tribe other than one's own. This seemed at the time to fit the facts, and no one was ready with any other explanation; but a little reflection will show that it is *a priori* unlikely.

The rule of exogamy seems normally (though not always) to be, (*a*) that a man may not marry from his own division; (*b*) that he shall marry from some *one* other division. Now suppose this rule to hold for two groups, A and B, and suppose that real capture and real resistance to capture regularly took place. Supposing A and B about equal to one another in the number, skill and courage of their young men, then the plan would work tolerably well; neglecting a few fatal casualties, A, having x warriors, would capture x girls from B; B, having likewise x eligibles, would kidnap x girls from A, and all would settle down comfortably to married life. But now imagine that any one of a score of likely accidents (say the acquisition of a better weapon by A) makes B in any given generation the weaker; what then? A still captures the necessary x brides; but B can get only $x—n$, and consequently n of its potential fathers fail, biologically speaking, to survive. In the next generation the reduced numbers of B can no longer meet the demands of A; in the next, this state of things has got worse still; until, with the slowness of savages to innovate, A has died out from lack of wives before any means of supplying them has been arrived at.

Now the chances in favour of so tragic a consummation are, it seems to me, very great when we remember the long series of generations since the beginnings of even that small fraction of human history which we know. Yet exogamous races practising marriage by capture live and flourish.

The other theory therefore, or rather the group of

[16]*Primitive Marriage*, Edinburgh, 1865.

theories which deny the existence of a period of normal marriage by actual capture, have on the face of it a good deal of likelihood on their side. Of these the most reasonable seems to be that of van Gennep,[17] who supposes that the bride is captured, not from any clan, but from the class of virgins to which she has hitherto belonged, and from which she cannot be freed without effort. He ingeniously compares[18] the occasional practice of holding a ritual fight over a corpse, i.e., an attempt by the class of living men to hold their departing fellow from crossing the threshold.

It is clear that if we suppose the struggle always to have been ritual and never wholly or principally an appeal to the arm of flesh, the difficulties just mentioned are done away with. Yet it cannot be denied that the form which the rite often takes is a scene of kidnapping by the bridegroom or his friends or both, of the bride who is defended by some of her own people. There is however at least one crucial instance which tells against McLennan and in favour of van Gennep.

The Hausa bride is one of those who go through a scene of unwillingness and compulsion. Yet her foes seem from first to last to be of her own household.[19]

"When the wedding-day drew nigh, *some girl-friends* were summoned secretly to the mother's house, and on the bride's entering they surrounded her, while *the mother stained her with henna,* afterwards bandaging the parts thus treated, *the girl pretending to resist.*" Or in another account, "After about seven days" (from the henna-ceremony) "*her relatives come to her house, and seize her, and take her* to her husband's house."

The girl-friends seem rather out of the picture, being presumably virgins themselves,[20] but the part played by the mother is easily intelligible on van Gennep's theory; she is the natural representative of the girl's new class, that of married women, and more fitted than any other to help her daugh-

[17]*Les Rites de Passage* (Paris, 1909), pp. 177 ff.
[18]*Op. cit.*, p. 234.
[19]Tremearne, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs* (London, 1913) pp. 82, 86. The italics are mine.
[20]The Hausa, unlike some Africans, prize virginity, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

ter over the threshold. On any supposition of a real fight between the bride's people and a kidnapping bridegroom, one is at a loss to account for the apparent treachery of the girl's nearest kin.

Incidentally, it should be remarked that over and above magical reasons for the struggle (e.g., to deceive the spirits who lose a worshipper by letting them think that she yields only to *force majeure*), we have in one part at least of the rite, the struggle in the marriage chamber itself (Tremearne, *op. cit.*, 83, cf. Brunhilde's wrestling with Sigurd), nothing more mysterious than the survival of an age-old bit of love-play easily to be seen among the lower animals. To the Hausa bride as to her Roman sister the admonition is addressed in a mixture of jest and earnest:

at tu ne pugna cum tali coniuge, uirgo.

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CAPTAIN JOHN DESERONTYOU AND THE MOHAWK SETTLEMENT AT DESERONTO*

IN the early history of the Mohawks in this country their great chief Joseph Brant, Thayendenaga, occupies so important a position that all other leaders are overshadowed, and one does not realize that there were any other chiefs of note. But the Indians of the Mohawk Reserve on the Bay of Quinte have their eponymous founder, Captain John Deserontyou, through whom the first Mohawk settlement was made in Canada, even before Brant led his Indians to the banks of the Grand River.

Before the American Revolution, Captain John Deserontyou lived at Fort Hunter, one of the three Mohawk settlements on the Mohawk River.[1] The writer was unable to obtain any information as to the date of his birth, although he must have been about the same age as Brant, who was born in 1742.

On the outbreak of war in 1775 when Col. Guy Johnson, the successor of Sir William Johnson as superintendent of Indian Affairs, left his headquarters on the Mohawk river, not only Brant but Captain John and a large number of Fort Hunter Indians accompanied him until they came to Montreal about July 17th.[2] There at Lachine, even after the rest of the tribe had removed from the Mohawk valley to Niagara, the Fort Hunter Indians under Captain John remained. Not that they were content to wait passively, subsisting on the bounty of the British Government, for until the cessation of hostilities, the warriors were employed on war parties and scouting expeditions to the Mohawk river, under the directions of Colonel Claus.[3] Captain John as leader took an active part in the expeditions and while serving under Claus was wounded.[4]

*Presented before the Royal Society of Canada, 1921, and printed by their permission.

[1]B 115-242. The letters and figures used in this and all other footnotes throughout this paper refer to the series so designated in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

[2]N.Y. Colonial MSS.. London documents XLVI.

[3]B 62-249, 286.

[4]S.

The terms of the peace of 1783 greatly affronted the Mohawks and kindred tribes of the six nations. Not only was there no provision made for these loyal allies of the King, but the boundary terms completely disregarded a solemn compact made with them by Sir William Johnson—the treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768, by which the boundaries of the Six Nations' lands were fixed and a sort of Indian state arranged between Canada to the north and the Colonies to the south. The Oneidas, who deserved least consideration from the Crown, were most insolent in their protests to the officer at Niagara, saying that they did not believe the King "could pretend to cede to America what was not his own to give. . . that it was an act of cruelty and injustice that Christians only were capable of doing, that Indians were incapable of acting so." [5] The Mohawks, although equally uneasy, adopted a saner course, and sent Brant post haste from Niagara to interview Governor Haldimand. On arriving in Montreal Brant was joined by Captain John, and two days later on May 21st, 1783, arrived in Quebec.[6]

On May 27th the Mohawk chiefs laid their case before the Governor. The following is an extract from Brant's speech: "The Six Nations and their allies have heard that the King their father had made peace with his children the Bostonians, and when they heard of it, they found that they were forgot and no mention made of them in said peace, wherefore they have now sent me to inform themselves before you of the real truth, whether it is so or not, that they are not partaker of that peace with the King and the Bostonians.[7]

From the first news of the provisional treaty, Haldimand had anticipated this trouble. While he was soothing the chiefs in Quebec, Sir John Johnson had set out for Niagara to quiet the Indians there. But when Brant and Captain John returned on July 5th, the encampment was seething with discontent because of a report brought by two Oneidas of an alleged speech of the American General Schuyler, viz.: "The Americans have conquered the King of England and the lands of the loyalists have been confiscated. The Indians who fought

[5]B 103-175. [6]B 115-105. [7]Q 21-236.

for the King are in the same position, their land forfeited in the same manner." [8] But Brant and Captain John "in great spirits after their interview with Haldimand" reassured their comrades,[9] and Sir John Johnson later confirmed their assertion, that the boundary line lately agreed to did not deprive them of their lands.

To tell the truth, Haldimand and Sir John Johnson had expressed to the Indians a satisfaction with the peace terms which they were far from feeling. The Indian rights had been disregarded and the problem was to smooth over the facts as tactfully as possible. In one of his dispatches to Lord North Haldimand wrote freely of the injustice done the Indians. "Those people, my lord, have as enlightened ideas of the nature and obligations of treaties as the most civilized nations have and know that no infringement of the treaty of 1768 can be binding upon them without their express concurrence and consent. It would certainly be better for both nations . . . that the immediate country between the limits assigned to Canada by the provisional treaty and those established, as formerly mentioned, by that in the year 1768 should be considered entirely as belonging to the Indians and that the subjects neither of Great Britain nor of the American states should be allowed to settle within them." [10] Such a suggestion would hardly win the consent of the American government, and the utmost that the Indians could expect was that the Americans would not confiscate their land without compensation, as the rumour had at first threatened.

To strengthen their position, forty chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, including Brant and Captain John, went to Detroit on August 9th "to meet the Crees and Cherokees and to form a treaty of alliance and friendship together." [11] In a council held at Sandusky from Aug. 26th to Sept. 8th, 1783, an alliance was formed with the Western Indians, for the express purpose of guarding their lands, as is evident from a speech made by Brant. "We . . . agreed to lay our hatchets aside and looked with watchful eye towards our lands, from the boundary line which was agreed to fifteen years ago. . . . Although we have laid the hatchet aside, should they give us

[8]B 103-236. [9]B 103-257. [10]Q 23-46. [11]B 103-318.

just cause to use it, we shall nevertheless be able to take it up in defence of our rights." [12] But provided the frontiersmen made no encroachment on their lands, the new confederacy declared its willingness to be at peace and friendship with the Americans.[13].

But the way was not yet open for the Six Nations to return to their lands and they looked to the Governor of Canada for the fulfilment of the promise made them by Sir Guy Carleton and Haldimand, "that they should be placed in as favourable a situation at the close of the war as they enjoyed in their former castles." [14] Not only was Haldimand anxious to redeem his promise, but he thought it essential that the Six Nations be pacified in every way, as he explained in a later dispatch, "in proportion as it shall be thought necessary to preserve the friendship and alliance of the Indians in general, whose conduct is always governed by that of the Six Nations—in other words, the possession of the upper country and the fur trade." [15]

Accordingly, Haldimand had suggested to Brant and Captain John at the time of their visit to him in the spring of 1783 that the Mohawks move across Lake Ontario and so continue to live in British territory. Captain John telling of the migration, almost twenty years later, said: "We were told to go to Nova Scotia, but not liking that situation we went to General Haldimand . . . who told us if we did not like Nova Scotia we might go to any of the unsettled lands in this country." [16] Nova Scotia may have been a tentative suggestion made by Sir John Johnson in conversation with the chiefs, but in Haldimand's correspondence the only settlement proposed is in Ontario. To further this scheme and to prove to the Mohawks that they were not to be left utterly neglected, in spite of the unfair treaty terms, the governor ordered an engineering officer, Major Holland, to proceed at once to Cataraqui, with orders to examine the north side of Lake Ontario with a view to settling such of the Six Nations as might prefer that situation to the risk of being subjected to

[12]B 119-220. [13]B 103-370.
[14]Canada and its Provinces 4, p. 707.
[15]B 119-322. [16]S.

the power of the States by returning to their former habitation.[17] Brant and Captain John accompanied Major Holland to Cataraqui and made a short tour of exploration before returning to Niagara. According to Major Holland's report "they seemed to be well satisfied with the country." [18]

The lands along the north and west shores of Lake Ontario belonged to the Mississaga Indians. At first there was great uneasiness among them because their brethren the Six Nations, they said, were so numerous that they would overrun their hunting grounds and oblige them to retire to new and distant places.[19] Their uneasiness may be more easily understood when one remembers the dread which their brethren, the Six Nations, had inspired for centuries, and the frequency with which Mohawk war parties had raided the weaker nations to the north, barely a century before. But the governor calmed the fears of the Mississagas and in the autumn of 1783 their lands were purchased mainly through the goodwill of their old chief Mynass.[20].

Captain John's party at Lachine prepared to move to their new home in the spring but among the Niagara Mohawks trouble arose, as soon as their western allies heard of the proposed site. To quote a statement made by some of the Mohawks about 1800, "The Senecas and others at Buffalo Creek . . . upbraided us with having treated them unfairly, after having . . . drawn them into the contest, now to abandon them in their present critical situation, to be exposed to such retaliation as revenge might urge the Americans to attempt. We were struck with the justice of their argument and in consequence relinquished the place we had just chosen and applied for the Grand River, in lieu of it." [21] It was in March, 1784, that Brant and the other Mohawk chiefs at Niagara informed the governor, through Sir John Johnson, of their change of plan and their desire to settle at Grand River. In the same despatch Sir John declared the fixed determination of the Lachine Mohawks to abide by their first resolution of settling about the Bay of Quinte. Although the governor had suggested and favoured the Bay of Quinte settlement, he soon exerted all his influence to encourage the Grand River pro-

[17]B 104-418. [18]B 124-36. [19]B 115-138. [20]B 115-185. [21]S.

posal. His aim was to propitiate the Six Nations in every way, and in order to win his support it was necessary only to convince him that the majority of the Mohawks preferred the Grand River. Of course, each faction claimed that they voiced the opinion of the whole nation. Brant's supporters spoke of "John the Mohawk, and a few inconsiderable adherents." Captain John wrote of "some few of the Mohawks at Niagara bending their thoughts to another place." [22] But in reality Brant's following, including as it did many Senecas and Cayugas, was by far the larger.

Sir John Johnson assigned to Captain John and his associate, a Captain Isaac Anoghsoktea, the pettiest of motives, saying that they preferred "the rule of a few to the risk of losing their consequence among the whole." [23] Captain John was without doubt a very self-willed individual, and greatly enjoyed a feeling of authority, but before deciding that he caused a permanent division of his people through sheer obstinacy and pride, we had better allow him to speak in his defence. The following are his reasons for preferring the Bay of Quinte, as stated in a council held in September, 1800: "I informed Colonel Claus I was not fond of going to the Grand River owing to their being so near the Americans, and I told him I thought I could not live in peace so near those people and made choice of this place as being at a greater distance from them. The Americans are like a worm that cuts off the corn as soon as it appears." [24] Moreover, the proposal for the change of site came only a short time before the Mohawks at Lachine were ready to set out for the Bay of Quinte; they had been a long time at Lachine in uncertainty as to their future, and the change would have necessitated a much longer wait; and, as the Brantford party acknowledged years afterwards, the Lachine (formerly Fort Hunter) Indians, who moved to the Bay of Quinte, had always been a distinct party, living apart even on the Mohawk River.[25] Haldimand, Sir John Johnson and Brant were all angered at Captain John's refusal to remove to the Grand River, but he was not wholly unjustified.

By April, 1784, the Lachine Mohawks were busily pre-

[22]B 103-442, B 115-242.
[23]B 115-234. [24]S. [25]S.

paring for their move to the west and Captain John was anxiously writing to the governor somewhat peevish requests for the full amount of land he considered due to them, and inquiries about the appointment of a schoolmaster. The governor patiently replied that although he preferred the situation chosen by Joseph on the Grand River, he would do what the nation wished, he would not restrict them to the seven thousand acres mentioned in Captain John's letter, and would allow them a schoolmaster.[26] An issue of tools was also made to them the end of April.[27]

The order for the above-mentioned issue speaks of "the Mohawk Indians under Captains Isaac and John, going to settle at Cataraqui." But when they left Lachine, a dispute arose between the two leaders. Captain Isaac was won over to favour the Grand River settlement and departed thither, but Captain John proceeded with his party to the Bay of Quinte. To quote again from Captain John's statement: "We arrived here the 22nd of May and found a great number of the native Mississagas at this place, who were very glad to see us and we were happy to be met in so friendly a manner. We then held a council with the Mississagas and informed them our great Father had purchased these lands for us and that we had come to sit down on them. I told them the King's people (U. E. Loyalists) were also coming to inhabit this country which the Mississagas had sold to the Crown. We told them also that the people who were coming to settle among us were bringing cattle and other stock and we hoped they would not disturb them or do them any damage. I also added, 'we shall be great friends and I hope you will not forget what I say.' " [28].

So great was Captain John's zeal to ensure friendship with the Mississagas, or his desire to impress them with his importance and influence that he generously tried to include them in the presents, i.e. the grants of clothing and supplies made to his people, to the great annoyance of the local Indian agent.[29] It required a visit from Sir John Johnson to curb the magnificence of Captain John.

[26]B 63-236. [27]B 63-249. [28]S.
[29]B 63-431.

With the Mohawks came a white girl about fifteen years old, subsequently married into their nation. She lived to be over a hundred years old, and her great grandson, Sampson Green of Deseronto, had from her an account of the landing of the Mohawks. The following report was obtained by Rev. A. H. Creegan of the Mohawk Rectory, Deseronto, from Sampson Green: "Her story was that when the little band landed on the shore of their new home, they upturned a canoe, covered it with the communion cloth, and placed all the pieces of the old Queen Anne communion set on it in plain view of all the people, that then the chief said prayers and they sang a hymn. Afterwards they planted a cross and a flagstaff on the spot. Many of the older residents remember the flagstaff."

The old communion silver is still the greatest treasure of the Mohawks. The whole service is not in the possession of the Mohawks at Brantford, as the recently published "History of the County of Brant" would lead one to suppose. Four of the pieces are now at Mohawk Institute near Brantford, and three in the Mohawk Church near Deseronto. The service was presented to the Mohawks by Queen Anne in 1712 and was buried by them in 1775, to preserve it when they fled from their homes. In 1783 Captain John Deserontyou made a pilgrimage to the Mohawk valley in New York State, recovered the silver and brought it with his people to their new home. Some time later it was divided between the Brantford and Deseronto Mohawks.[30].

While Captain John's party was settling at the Bay of Quinte, the land around the Grand River had been bought from the Mississagas, at a council held at Niagara, May 22nd, 1784.[31] As soon as the movement of the Niagara Mohawks to the Grand River began, pressure was once more brought to bear on the determined old chief at the Bay of Quinte. Governor Haldimand, who had sought indirectly to influence him before, wrote a long letter on Oct. 30th to Captain John Deserontyou and his friends of the Mohawk nation at Cataraqui.[32]

[30]Information furnished by Rev. A. H. Creegan.

[31]Q 23-349.

[32]Although the Mohawk settlement was at least thirty miles from Cataraqui, it was often thus designated because Cataraqui was the nearest government post.

After stating his reasons for first suggesting the Bay of Quinte and then urging the Grand River settlement, he continued: "I therefore strongly recommend to Captain John and the few families of the Mohawk nation with him, to lose no time in joining the majority of the nation. I can have no view in wishing to remove you from Cataraqui but for the interest and happiness of the Mohawk nation at large, and as a proof of it a sufficient quantity of land shall be reserved entirely for their use at that place, lest any circumstance should hereafter incline them to return to it." [33] He closes with an enumeration of the benefits to be conferred on the Grand River settlement. At the same time, a letter was despetched to the Rev. J. Stuart, urging him to use his influence with Captain John "to dissuade him from remaining with an handful of people separate from his nation; a system which may gratify vanity, or some little temporary jealousie but which cannot fail of materially hurting the interest of the nation in general." [34] Thus Captain John's refusal was interpreted by Matthews, the governor's secretary, who, it might be explained, was a warm friend of Brant. But neither impressive letters from the governor nor repeated messages through the Rev. Mr. Stuart could shake the determination of Captain John. By this time he and his people were settled in their new homes, and move from the Bay of Quinte they would not.

In spite of their defiance of his wishes, the governor rendered the Bay of Quinte Mohawks every assistance in their new settlement. Before they left Lachine, they had been recompensed for the losses they had sustained in the war, according to their own valuation. The losses of all the Lachine Indians were estimated at £6430, those of Captain John alone at £836. 11s.[35] They continued to receive the yearly presents of clothing and ammunition from the government stores;[36] by 1788 a mill had been built; assistance was also rendered in building a church and school house, and a schoolmaster was provided. Special grants were made to Captain John in consideration of his influence and former services to the Crown.

[33]B 64-364.
[34]B 64-370. [35]Q 24-2..299. [36]C 249-226.

He received a pension of £45 a year.[37] In 1788, he was given the small island[38] directly opposite Deseronto, formerly known as Captain John's Island, but renamed Forester's Island by Dr. Oronhyateka at the time of his short-lived attempt to make it a popular resort. As a further mark of favour, Captain John's son was educated at a boarding school for four years, at a cost of £25 a year,[39] an investment which unfortunately never brought much return to the government, for Peter John did not inherit his father's abilities.

While Lord Dorchester was governor, he was the more disposed to favour the Mohawk leader because in May, 1794, when French revolutionary agents were endeavouring to foment trouble between the United States and Canada, Captain John wrote him as follows: "By the reports in this place we seem to be on the eve of a war once more with the States, as the report says they are preparing to take Oswego and Niagara. We would wish His Lordship was acquainted with our sentiments, to put confidence in them and prepare us strongly to repel them. We should wish some arms and ammunition was sent . . . for our people. Brother, we shall always be ready to join His Majesty's arms, therefore would like to be prepared for so doing . . . the Americans may soon fall on. Witness last war how soon they took Ticonderoga and their vicinity to Oswego may make them play the same game again." [40] Lord Dorchester was much pleased with this offer and the required supplies were quickly sent.

Between their coming to Canada and the occasion of this letter, the affairs of the Mohawk colony had progressed favorably, but without much incident worthy of comment. On Aug. 27th, 1788, Lord Dorchester and Sir John Johnson had visited the Bay of Quinte, and had expressed their satisfaction with the comfortable settlement and good behaviour of the Mohawks. Shortly after this visit, Captain Isaac Hill Anoghsoktea and Captain Aaron Hill Ranonraron, with their parties, arrived at the Bay of Quinte. In 1784 they had chosen to leave Captain John to go to the Grand River. Now they had decided to rejoin their brethren and make trial of the Bay of Quinte,

[37]S. [38]Indian Papers, 1765-93.
[39]C 254-119. [40]C 247-163.

because of disputes with Brant.[41] This move would not improve relations between Brant and Captain John, and Brant must have attributed the defection to intrigues of Captain John; for in August, 1789, he wrote to the governor bitterly accusing John as follows: "I am sorry to inform your Excellency that the new Mohawks you allowed to settle at the Bay of Quinte have been the means of dividing our nation. John tries every effort to raise disputes and jealousies, all which he makes subservient to his private interests and a wish of acquiring popular greatness." [42]

On Jan. 4th, 1791, a committee was appointed by the governor, Alured Clarke, to report the claims of the Indians to the lands assigned them. The Deputy Surveyor General, Collins, laid before the committee a sketch of the land claimed by Captain John's party and informed them that in the year 1787 he surveyed the townships of Thurlow and Richmond, on the north side of the Bay of Quinte, leaving between them a tract or space of about twelve miles front on said bay, for Captain John and about twenty families of the Mohawk nation who had settled themselves on it, which tract, he explained, was part of the purchase from the Mississagas in 1784. The committee adopted the following report, "That as the faith of government is pledged to the Mohawk chiefs for the tracts mentioned above, every precaution ought to be taken to preserve them in the quiet possession of them. and the committee submit that an act of the provincial legislature, or a grant under the great seal of the province, be made in favour of the principal chiefs, on behalf of their nation, or persons in trust for them forever." [43] The grant of Tyendenaga township to the Six Nation Indians was made by Lieut.-governor Simcoe on April 1st, 1793.[44] The land was granted them with certain restrictions, as appears from the following despatch from the Colonial office dated March 10, 1797: "Although it belongs to them, solely and exclusively, they are positively restricted from alienating or disposing of it, to any other persons whatever." [45]

[41]S. [42]B 77-229.
[43]Ontario Archives Report, 1905, pp. 489-494.
[44]Indian Treaties and Surrenders, vol. I, p. 7, No. 3½.
[45]G 53-64.

It must be admitted that one weakness of Captain John's was a tendency to impulses of magnificent generosity at government expense. Witness the above mentioned inclusion of the Mississagas in the Mohawks' presents. Then, in 1794, he acted as intermediary for the Oneidas, who had sold their lands in New York State, and were desirous of moving to the Bay of Quinte, to share the privileges their brethren the Mohawks enjoyed under His Majesty's government. Although in the crisis of the American Revolution they had not given a like proof of loyalty, Captain John generously pleaded their cause with the authorities, but without success..[46]

Like many an individual in our own times, Captain John when travelling at the government's charge did not scruple to incur a heavy expense account, as is evident from the following comment made by the superintendent of Indian Affairs, when submitting the pay list of his department in March, 1798: "It is to be hoped Captain John from Bay of Quinte may not soon make another visit." [47] Yet the following letter from Captain John himself contains very modest requests and does not suggest reckless expenditure. It was written in June, 1793, to the officer commanding at Miamis Rapids: "I am sorrie for to trouble you but wee have nothing for to eat. . . We onlie drawed fiftee loaves which was for to be divided amongst 44 people and about half a bushel pease for the same, but a little pease we have still but they will soon be out so that I would be greatly obliged to you for to give us some provisions Wee did not receive anie flour If you would lend mee one blanket for the time wee stay here shall return it when wee goe away as I gave one of my blankets to one of my people who had loste his." [48]

All these years the question of the Mohawk lands in New York State had remained undecided. Haldimand had contended that the lands of the Six Nations were not ceded by the line specified in the treaty, whose purpose was merely to determine the southern boundary of Canada, but that the northern boundary of the States should still be that fixed by the old treaty of Fort Stanwix, leaving a neutral Indian state between

[46]C 247-93, 95.
[47]C 251-51. [48]Indian Papers, 1765-93.

the British and American borders.[49] The Americans would not agree to this, because it was "not so nominated in the bond," and at first they suggested to the Indians that by their conduct in the war they had forfeited all claim to their lands.[50] The Six Nations themselves declared that they would not relinquish their lands by compulsion, but would grant them for a reasonable compensation.[51] The Indians held council after council with American representatives, without arriving at a definite result. The difficulties were increased by their having to treat with commissioners from both Congress and the State of New York, whose conflicting powers and messages confused the Indian leaders.[52] Although others of the Six Nations came to an agreement with the United States before 1797, it was not until March of that year that the Mohawks agreed to "cede and release to the people of the State of New York for ever all the rights or titles of the said nations to land within the said state." [53] Brant and Captain John were the deputies to treat with the New York commissioners at Albany, and to them was paid the price agreed upon for the surrender of the lands, a thousand dollars to be distributed among the persons and families of the Mohawk nation, as well as six hundred dollars to cover the expenses of the two deputies. The usual procedure on the occasion of the sale of Indian lands was to invest the purchase money in an annuity to be paid the Indians in the form of yearly presents of goods. But in this case, the money was delivered, half to Brant and half to Captain John. The latter thereupon gave another demonstration of his genius in dealing with expense accounts. When he had returned to his village and was called to account by his people, he told them of the five hundred dollars paid him without mentioning the additional allowance and then produced a large expense account, leaving barely two hundred dollars to be divided.[54]

Captain John's arbitrary dealing in this affair was the beginning of serious trouble among the Bay of Quinte Indians. Captain Isaac began to question Captain John's authority and set himself up in opposition, until the whole settlement was divided. Three years later the trouble culminated in a fight

[49]B 63-203.
[50]B 119-249. [51]B 65-8. [52]B 119-276. [53]S.
[54]S.

in which Captain John's brother-in-law Lawrence and his son were killed by Isaac and his followers. Thereupon the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Captain Claus, hurried to the village to settle the differences between Captain John and Isaac, and to investigate the death of Lawrence. From the second to the tenth of September, 1800, the council was held, while each leader in turn told his story. Captain Isaac enlarged on the wrong-doing of Captain John in the matter of the money from the New York lands. Captain John made a very long statement, tracing the whole history of the settlement to emphasize his own good conduct and efforts for peace, and the disturbing influence of Captain Isaac both among Brant's people and his own. Even before his mission to Albany, he said Captain Isaac had refused to attend the council meetings; and since that time he had undertaken to call a council of his own, had usurped many of Captain John's powers, and had sought to undermine his influence. The following were among Isaac's offences as enumerated by Captain John: "One of their new regulations was to beat and abuse all my friends." "They also took upon themselves to open public houses for the sale of spirituous liquors in the village. . . . At one of these houses they had for a sign, the picture of the Devil." "Since Capt. Isaac's party has been formed, the door of the church has been locked. Before Capt. Isaac left the Grand River the church there was also shut up on account of the disturbances he made. Capt. Isaac with his people got tired of reading the same prayers over and over again in the church and in the council said they would make new prayers of their own, which surprised me much, knowing when the minister heard it, he would throw us all away." He concluded with a graphic account of the affray in which his kinsman had been killed.

After listening to all the evidence, the presiding officer spoke to each party in turn, declaring that both had been greatly to blame, but desiring them to settle their differences. He pointed out to Captain Isaac that Captain John was the head of the village and that no one but the King could displace him. He then addressed Captain John's party, and the affair seemed to be nearing a satisfactory conclusion, but Captain

John proved implacable: "I think, brother, you was rather too mild with Capt. Isaac and his party and I think also Mr. Stuart said too much in Capt. Isaac's favour. . . You heard what Capt. Isaac said to you. . . Let him pay all the deceased's debts and go through the custom of covering the dead and then we may expect he will abide by his promises. . . As to taking Isaac and his party by the hand, that is out of the question at present." But after a consultation with Claus, Captain John agreed to take Isaac by the hand, if he would repeat before the whole council his promise to have nothing more to say in the village. Captain Isaac did so and gave Captain John two belts of wampum, "one to wipe away the blood and the other to level the graves of those who were killed." [55] He concluded, "I have nothing more to do than to mind my own business and am just going to erect a mill which . . . will be the means of getting my livelihood." Even then, Captain John was not fully satisfied.—"That is all I wanted to hear but as to his building a mill, I object to it." After much altercation, it was agreed that neither party should build a mill for the present. Next there followed a dispute as to which chief would rise first and offer his hand, until "after a great deal of persuasion by the friends of both parties, Capt. Isaac got up, Capt. John also standing opposite to him, when they shook hands and afterwards all the parties shook hands alternately." [56]

The next question that arose among the Mohawks was one that was to vex them for years to come. Now that white settlements had sprung up all around them, their richly forested lands could not escape the timber speculator, who found it only too easy to cheat them. Knowing how easily Indians are affected by alcohol, he would ply them with liquor, and then buy enormous quantities of timber, far below the standard price. Late in 1809 Captain John and the Indian agent at Kingston, John Ferguson, both wrote to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, complaining of the unfair dealing of the white lumbermen. Captain John further assured the superintendent that since it had been explained to him that Indians

[55]The act of reparation which Capt. John had called "covering the dead."

[56]S.

had no right to dispose of the timber or any part of their property, nor to introduce white people on the lands, he had refused every application but that others were still undertaking to lease timber lots to white men and to sell timber, a practice which Captain John prayed might be stopped.[57] A few months after this came a long letter of protest from the Indians of the Mohawk village, couched in terms which makes one wonder whether the charges were the invention of Captain John's enemies, or whether the old leader, to use their expression, had obliqued from the path of truth and justice. Their complaint was that Captain John, after acting as their agent in negotiations with the lumbermen, had appropriated the money so paid him to his own use, that because of the general dissatisfaction, they had appointed other overseers, but now Captain John, returning after an absence, had ordered the lumbermen off the lands, unless they paid over all the money to him. On the one hand, one can easily see how the statements of Captain John's letter could be twisted to some such misinterpretation by a body of jealous, half-educated men. On the other hand, Captain John's case is not helped by one or two incidents in his previous history, notably that of the money from the sale of the New York lands.

But in any case, it was not to be a long drawn dispute for Captain John, for early in the next year, on Jan. 7th, 1811, the old Mohawk chief died.[58]. Capt. John Deserontyou, although not the equal of Brant in ability or education, yet had proved himself, whenever occasion offered, a gallant and devoted supporter of the Crown. His faults were those natural to a race but recently won from savagery; his loyalty and bravery, qualities that the greatest leaders of most civilized races are proud to share.

M. ELEANOR HERRINGTON.

Napanee.

[57] S.
[58] S.

POEM.

"Le plaisir délicieux et toujours nouveau d'une occupation inutile."

HENRI DE REGNIER.

Then something moves in the unquiet mind,
Something impalpable and hard to bind,
The double of the thought or the thought's essence;
The annunciation of its subtle presence
Is a slight perfume or a fragile shading,
Hardly perceived ere it is frayed and fading:
Is it the core of all the secret longing
That keeps the memory populous, a thronging
Of ghosts of all the passions, proving deathless
The dead passions? Is it the shadows faithless
Of joys that were to live but once and die
Without a hope of immortality,
That now come treading the old jocund measure,
Mere apparitions, pulseless of all pleasure?
Is it aroma faint from Nature's chalice,
The odour of the aurora borealis
That shifts before the stars a silver fume,
Or peacock-tints on pools of amber gloom
In some fir-forest, all of light denuded;
The aroma faint that keeps the mind deluded
With the vain thought that here it lived before
In many incarnations o'er and o'er,
Till all this life seems but a spectral show
Of something real that perished long ago?
Thus the unquiet mind is charmed and caught
When comes to Beauty Beauty's afterthought,
The shadow-rainbow, that the rainbow flings
On the torn storm-breast underneath his wings.

DUNCAN CAMPBELL SCOTT.

THE CANADIAN COPYRIGHT ACT.

The Canadian statute book is to-day in the peculiar position of containing two entirely separate and distinct Copyright Acts, differing from one another in many important respects. One of them is the old Copyright Act, which has been in force in this country for a great many years, and which fails to deal specifically with any of the newer forms of the dissemination of ideas which have become so important through the advance of invention—the phonograph, the cinematograph, the automatic musical instrument, etc. The other is a new and very up-to-date Act, making provision for all these new methods of dissemination in a scientific way, but containing, in regard to the old method of dissemination, a violent invasion of what has always hitherto been regarded as the essential element of copyright, viz: the right to control the process of multiplication of copies. The existence of these two contradictory statutes in our legislation at the same moment of time is due to the fact that the second, which contains within itself the repeal of the first, does not go into effect until proclaimed. It has not yet been proclaimed, but it is within the power of the Governor-General-in-Council to proclaim it at any time.

With the old Copyright Act we are not concerned. All admit that it is out of date, and that it should be superseded by a new law upon the general lines laid down in the 1921 Act, omitting, of course, the peculiar invasion of the author's rights which has just been mentioned. Friends of an enlightened and up-to-date copyright system have been agitating for the adoption of such an Act ever since the last addition to the Berne Convention made it possible for Canada to adhere to the Convention (through the intermediary of Great Britain, but in virtue of her own domestic legislation) as a party to the Convention in its fullest and most modern form. But efforts for the procuring of legislation are not by any means confined to the friends of a liberal copyright system; and the lobby, if such it may be termed, of the advocates of a modern Copyright law in Canada has never presented itself at Ottawa without finding at its heels another lobby, extremely well provided with the means of persuasion, and

representing those who are convinced that a Copyright Act in Canada should be used as a means of affording protection to a group of Canadian industrial trades—the compositors, the pressmen, the bookbinders and their respective employers. The effect of the action of these two very diverse forces upon the resultant legislation has been interesting. Three or four times a hybrid bill, showing clear evidences of the distracted state of mind of the legislators exposed to such conflicting currents, has reached the all-but-final stages of enactment and perished within sight of the statute book. Only in 1921 did the hybrid product contrive to pass the necessary third reading in both Houses; and even then it did so only after the insertion of a clause which defers its going into effect until a date probably quite close to the Greek Kalends.

The device adopted for inserting a protectionist element into the new Copyright law of 1921 is an extremely interesting one. The fundamental idea of the Berne Convention is that of the absolute right of the author or his assignee to control the multiplication of copies or the dissemination of the work of art by any other means than copies, without the performance of any formality and without the interference of any conflicting interest. The only limitation to this right that is admitted by the Convention is the limitation of time. (I venture to pass over as without significance the limitations arising out of the right of any country to exercise the police power in regard to ideas which are offensive to a majority or a ruling element among its citizens.) It happens, however, that Great Britain adopted one other very minor limitation upon this complete right of the author to control the dissemination of his own ideas. It appeared to the British authorities that the right to suppress one's own book or work of art, which cannot reasonably be denied to the living author, ought perhaps to be denied to his assignee after his death, in cases where there was a pronounced public demand for the work in question. Hence it was provided that after the death of an author, should the holder of the copyright neglect or refuse to satisfy a demand for the work, and should any other person apply for a license to disseminate the work, that license should, at the discretion of the Copyright authorities, be

granted. Even this very moderate invasion of the absolute right of the Copyright owner was not viewed with approval by the authorities of the International Union at Berne; but the principle involved in the British claim had sufficient force to deter them, and to deter the rest of the treaty countries, from raising any objection to this British legislation.

The acute minds of those who were seeking for a means of insinuating protection for Canadian printers into the new Canadian Copyright Act were not slow to perceive that this idea of compulsory licenses, so absurdly limited in free trade Great Britain to an effort to protect the rights of the consumers of books, could easily be extended, in a country such as Canada, so as to constitute a device for protecting the interests of the book manufacturing trade. They were aided in their scheme by the fact that the Berne Convention, by an omission which seems most easily explained on the ground that there are some things so obvious that reasonable men do not think it necessary to say them, has failed to state in so many words the fact that a "copyright" must give to its holder the right to control the multiplication of copies. The term copyright is not defined in the treaty. The authors of the treaty apparently took it for granted that all concerned would know what copyright was; and, prior to the appearance of the Canadian printers' lobby, one would have said that they were right. But the printers' lobby denies that copyright means the right to control the multiplication of copies, or the right to multiply copies, or the right to have anything whatever to do with the production of copies, other than to receive an arbitrated royalty upon them. And this view of what copyright is not is actually registered upon the statute book of Canada in the Copyright Act of 1921.

It has not been unusual to make the granting of a copyright, in strongly protectionist countries, conditional upon the domestic production of the copyrighted work. That is the principle upon which the copyright law of the United States is based to-day; but it can hardly be said that the United States owes any of its prestige among the nations of the civilized world to that particular enactment. That principle is actually expressed in words in the old Canadian Copyright

Act now in force, but it has no practical effect there because no machinery has ever been provided to make it effective: it does no great harm to tell an author that his copyright is granted on the condition that his work "shall be printed and published in Canada" if you omit to say how soon it must be printed and published in Canada, nor what will happen to the copyright if it is never so printed and published. It is a sort of pious aspiration to which nobody pays any attention. But in all this there is no subtle destruction of the very nature of copyright. You are not destroying copyright when you refuse to grant an author a copyright except on certain terms, however onerous; you are merely making it more difficult to get.

The licensing clauses of the new Canadian Copyright Act do not make copyright difficult to get; they merely take away its value and effect when you have got it. The new Act grants copyright upon the most liberal terms imaginable, precisely the sort of terms that have long been advocated by the most liberal of copyright thinkers, and that are embodied in the latest form of the Berne Convention. The only trouble is that the copyright in Canada, when you have obtained it, is not a right to multiply and disseminate copies. In all other countries which are parties to the Berne Convention, copyright is a right to multiply copies *anywhere* and to disseminate them in the country granting the copyright. Nay, even the United States does not say that an author may possess an American copyright and still have no right to disseminate copies which were "multiplied" in any part of the globe; it merely says that it will not create a copyright for his benefit unless he complies with the condition of doing his multiplying in the United States. As a consequence of that condition the United States has to stay outside of the Berne Convention, but it accepts that consequence and does not pretend that it is just as good to authors as the Berne countries are. Canada, with a licensing clause in its Copyright Act which takes away from the copyright owner all control over the multiplication and dissemination of his copyright work in this country, unless he prints on a Canadian printing press, declares with her next breath, and on the next-but-one page of

the same Act, that she desires to enter the Berne Convention, and that the Governor-General-in-Council is authorized to do all that has to be done to get her into it. And the Minister who piloted this amazing Bill through the House is on record in Hansard as believing that these licensing clauses are perfectly compatible with the requirements of the Convention!

The terms on which copyright can be secured in Canada, under the new law, are perfectly simple and satisfactory. In essence, the mere production of the work, in any Convention country, constitutes its author automatically the owner of a copyright upon it, such copyright including the control of all the more modern forms of dissemination as well as the old-fashioned printing press. But here is the rub. If the author is not printing his work in Canada any Canadian printer who desires to print the work, or any person who desires to get it printed in Canada may apply to the Copyright Department for a license. The author will then be communicated with, and a time limit to be set by the Minister will be allowed for him to appear and plead his case; but, in the meantime, the importation of his book into Canada may be prohibited. If he appears, in person or by proxy, or communicates with the Minister in some authentic form, he will have two options. He may consent to have the book printed in Canada himself, and give satisfactory undertakings to that effect, in which case he will not be disturbed—unless he subsequently fails to print within the specified time. Or he may argue against the granting of the license, or in favour of a higher royalty than that offered by the would-be licensee. The Minister, which means, of course, the permanent officials of the department in charge of copyright, may be so moved by the author's tears that he will refuse to grant the license; but that seems unlikely, because he will soon become very well acquainted with the applicants for licenses, who will naturally be much the same group of persons from year to year, while the author is probably a total stranger. Or he may raise the proposed royalty a cent or two. Beyond that there does not seem to be much that he can do.

The things that the licensee can do, when he has secured the license, are almost unlimited. He must print the

whole of the "letterpress" of the work, and he must pay the royalty; but that is all that he has to bother about. He need not print any illustrations, nor any graphs, maps or diagrams, no matter how essential the author may believe them to be. He is utterly unfettered by the desires of the author as to type, paper, binding or any of the physical aspects of the book. He is in no permanent relation with the author, differing in that respect from the ordinary publisher, who usually has a material interest in the growth of the author's reputation and popularity. That his temporary relation with the author is not likely to be one of the sincerest friendship on both sides is fairly obvious. And for five years (the printers' original proposals said fifty) this licensed purveyor of other people's property, this literary privateer with letters of marque granted under the seal of the Minister of Copyright, will have the right to sell his product from end to end of the Dominion of Canada, *and to exclude from the Dominion of Canada all copies of the same work produced by the author's real publishers, except those produced in a Berne Convention country.* It must have gone sore against the grain for the printers' lobby to have to admit that they did not dare propose the exclusion of books printed in a Convention country, but the text of the Convention is so overwhelmingly explicit on that point that they could not face it.

Such is the Act which any Government succeeding to the control of this nation's destinies will have the power to proclaim whenever it sees fit. The present Government is explicitly bound by promises not to proclaim it without further reference to Parliament, if it should prove impossible for Canada to enter the Berne Convention with this legislation. It is hardly conceivable that any Canadian Government will ever proclaim it without possessing positive assurances that it will admit us immediately and without question to the full enjoyment of the latest Berne Convention. For it must be remembered that this Act repeals all other copyright legislation in Canada, and consequently wipes away all other existing treaties granting copyright to Canadians in the other countries of the world. But whenever this Act comes back to Parliament for amendment there will arise the same per-

ennial conflict between the advocates of a copyright law designed solely to encourage the freest international development of knowledge, literature and the arts by giving to the author of any new work the fullest control of the dissemination of his ideas in all parts of the world, and the believers in a copyright law, whose primary purpose shall be to compel the execution of more printing in Canada. That that printing will in virtually every case be a costly and unnecessary duplication of another printing executed in a larger English-speaking market, involving a material loss either to the consumer (the buyer and reader of books) or to the author, matters nothing. It will put money in the pockets of a few Canadian workmen and a few Canadian employers. There are people, and legislators, who need no further argument. The Canadian Authors' Association, which in this particular case is acting not merely for Canadian authors, but for the authors of the entire world, since their interests are here identical, came into the field at a late stage in the proceedings last spring, but was able even then to secure the adoption of many important concessions from the original demands of the printers' lobby. It will renew the fight at every session until a modern Copyright Act, conferring a real, complete and unconditional copyright is placed not only on the statute book, but among the effective laws of the land. It is highly important that in this effort it should have the support of every individual and every association of individuals in Canada interested in the advancement of human thought and the dissemination of beauty.

B. K. SANDWELL.

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANADIAN HISTORY.

Oscar Douglas Skelton: "The Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt (Toronto: Oxford University Press—1920 pp. 586).

The school of Canadian history at Queen's University, in producing books like Professor Morison's "British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government," and the present volume by Professor Skelton, is doing work of an amplitude superior to that of any other Canadian University. Let us hope that so able and scholarly a group will meet with due encouragement, for no better advice could be given to Queen's at present than to "cultivate your specialties."

The life of Sir Alexander Galt was well worth writing. He played a prominent and honourable part in the political and economic life of Canada both during the Union and in the early days of Confederation. His quick, versatile, scholarly mind responded readily to new ideas, his commercial acumen restrained his volatility, and his independent income allowed him to take independent views and to indulge his high sense of honour. He was laudably free from that enforced consistency which is the bane of most politicians; he had that high opportunism which consists in facing facts, and does not cling to principles which the facts have outdistanced. Thus the signer of the Annexation Manifesto of 1849 was the Conservative Finance Minister of ten years later, the advocate of Canadian Independence of 1870, and in the eighties one of the founders of the Imperial Federation League. The story of his life is told by Professor Skelton with ample knowledge and the lucidity which comes from knowledge. In addition to making full use of printed material and of the Canadian Archives, he has had unrestricted access to Galt's private papers, but though making wise use of them is always master of his material.

One criticism must however be made. Professor Skelton's knowledge of the period is so intimate, and his interest in it so living, that ever and anon we are given rather too much "Times" and the "Life" tends to disappear. Some of

the chips from his workshop remain, which would be more in place in a separate volume of essays. The well-worn tale of the winning of responsible government (pp. 112—128) should have been dismissed in a couple of pages; the importance of the Militia Bill of 1862 (pp. 334—352) has never been so well brought out, but it bulks unduly large in a biography of Galt; the story of the building of the Grand Trunk Railway (pp. 334—352) is largely new, and is of importance both in the "Life" and in the "Times", but it is told here on a scale befitting a history of Canadian finance or of Canadian railways.

Between rival Canadian parties Professor Skelton holds the scales with scrupulous fairness; Brown and Macdonald, Cartier and Dorion, are admirably summed up and praise and blame distributed with acumen and justice. In discussing the relation between Canada and the Mother Country, however, Professor Skelton, while not absolving Canada, tends to throw the shortcomings of Great Britain into much higher relief, though he has the justification that Galt himself evidently felt bitterly a certain complacence and condescension in British statesmen, political rather than social.

But it would be misleading to close upon a note of criticism. Professor Skelton's book is on a high level; it tells with lucidity and charm the story of a great man and of great events; and is easily one of the best half-dozen Canadian biographies.

W. L. GRANT.

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British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government, 1839-1854, by J. L. Morison, M. A., D. Litt. James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1919; The Oxford University Press, Toronto.

There is a very real danger that the full measure of self-government now enjoyed by Canadians should be regarded as having from the beginning been a 'fait accompli' and the view thus obscured of other days when Canadian autonomy was the cause of a most serious controversy. This conflict, as the title indicates, is the subject of Professor Morison's enlightening study. The argument is based on material obtained from the official correspondence and documents of the period and from narrations and pamphlets which the con-

troversy produced. The varying shades of opinion of the period are adequately set forth, the discussion is most suggestive, many avenues of thought are opened which could not be traversed within the limits imposed upon the author.

The social and political background of the Canadas is portrayed with considerable detail—a community lacking the requirements of civilization and limited, as of necessity it must be, in its intellectual and political outlook. The author, in relying on the narrations of early travellers who frequently achieved picturesqueness at the expense of accuracy, has not underestimated the crudity and pettiness of pioneer life. The picture of Colonel Talbot, for instance, taken from Mrs. Jameson, for sixteen years seeing scarcely a human being except a few boors and blacks, performing the duties of cook and laundress, boot black and dairy maid—while not to his discredit—gives a false impression of a genial host whose hospitality was enjoyed by numerous guests and whose establishment contained a goodly number of servants.

The constitutional conflict centred around the demand for responsible government. Lord Durham had recommended the grant of responsible parliamentary government as known in Britain within the limit of matters of purely colonial concern. Even advanced opinion in Britain regarded the grant of autonomy as opening the door to separation and independence. This view was shared by Lord John Russell whose instructions to Charles Poulett Thomson, later Lord Sydenham, first Governor General of the United Provinces, contained a warning against the dangers which lurked in the way of an admission of responsible government as developed in Britain but still left room for a very wide discretion on the part of the representative of the Crown. The Governor must only oppose the wishes of the Assembly where the honour of the Crown or the interests of the Empire are deeply concerned. Thomson found an Executive Council devoid of public confidence and unable to command a single vote in the Assembly. He conceived his responsibility to be to the British Ministry alone and to carry on government in accordance with Canadian opinion he decided to create a new political party, assume its leadership and combine the *office* of Governor and Prime Minister through

wise administration and a tactful personal influence with the members of the Assembly. While denying that theory of government his administration gave the Canadas the actual results which would be obtained through responsible government. As Professor Morison points out: "both by his errors, and by his acts of statesmanship, Sydenham contributed more than any other man, except Elgin, to establish that autonomy in Canada which his theories rejected. . . . . It was he who, by the virility of his thought and action, forced those who demanded responsible government to test and think over again their own position."

The close of Sydenham's last parliament found the administration with a very uncertain majority and the tide of opposition steadily growing. Sir Charles Bagot, Sydenham's successor, was faced with the problem of securing popular support for his Council. The opposition to the ministry developed beyond his control and he was obliged regardless of theories of government and even of his instructions from home to dispense with the services of four of his Council and to accept Mr. La Fontaine, Mr. Baldwin and three of their associates. The results of Bagot's surrender, as it was termed, were most significant. It conciliated the French Canadian party of reform and made of it a solid "accession to Canadian political stability;" it not only saved the British Ministry "from a crushing defeat and a humiliating surrender to extreme views" but likewise avoided the excesses a victory over a less diplomatic Governor might have tempted.

The brief administration of Lord Metcalfe saw the *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory of government enunciated by Lord John Russell in 1839. Metcalfe was known to be out of sympathy with his Executive Council, which, however, was supported by a large majority in the Assembly. Messrs. Baldwin and La Fontaine demanded as a necessary corollary of responsible government that the patronage of the government be placed within the control of the Executive Council. This demand was promptly refused and the Council resigned, precipitating a general election. Metcalfe with great trouble was able to obtain an Executive Council and then threw the weight of his personal influence into the election on behalf of his

Council. Although a small majority was obtained "the ministry which he created lacked the authority which can come only from the best political talent of a people acting in sympathy with the opinions of that people." Metcalfe was obliged to admit the defeat of his valiant endeavour to stem the tide of reform.

The way was now opened for the constructive statesmanship of one of Britain's greatest Empire builders—Lord Elgin. The greatness of Lord Elgin's statesmanship was in his keen perception of the realities of the Canadian situation, his sound judgement in discerning the proper policy to pursue and his courage in adopting it. Metcalfe's Council, he perceived, lacked popular support. Parliament was dissolved, the government defeated and a new Ministry "the first truly popular Ministry in the history of Canada" placed in office. Elgin accepted the party system with its defects and made of it the instrument by which responsible government should operate. Having established constitutional government a still greater task remained. As is shown by the author, he "had to interpret constitutionalism as something more than mere obedience to public dictation with regard to his councillors. He had to educate these councillors, and the public, into the niceties of British constitutional manners; and he had to create a new vocation for the governor general, and to exchange dictation for rational influence." Even beyond Canada did his work extend; "his influence through Earl Grey told powerfully for a fuller and more optimistic conception of empire."

In a chapter on British opinion and Canadian autonomy recognition is given to the influence of Charles Buller and Gibbon Wakefield—of whom too little is known in Canada—in moulding British opinion on Colonial policy and to the debt, too seldom recognized, which Canada owes to these early Victorian radicals. Attention is drawn to the complacency with which the separation of Canada from the Motherland was regarded by the vast body of public opinion in England and which, expressed by Lord John Russell on a famous occasion, drew forth the very best of Lord Elgin's despatches on the principles of colonial policy. The well-reasoned conclusions of the author deserve repetition: "that communities of the British

stock can be governed only according to the strictest principles of autonomy; that autonomy, once granted, may not be limited, guided, or recalled; that, in the grant, all distinctions between internal and imperial, domestic and diplomatic, . . . will speedily disappear; and that, up to the present time, the measure of local independence has also been the measure of local loyalty to the mother country."

D. McARTHUR.

CURRENT EVENTS

An Impression of Geneva.

The second meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations came to an end early in October. Its most important outward achievement was the establishment of the permanent Court of International Justice and the appointment of the fourteen judges to its bench. But as is usually the case in gatherings of this kind, the personal contacts which took place behind the scenes were more important than the public debates, which suffered from the fact that every speech had to be translated either into English or French, as the case might be. The Assembly is not a representative body and it is inevitable that its debates should seem somewhat disappointing to those who want 'to get things done.' But in the present stage of opinion on world questions, there is no likelihood that a world parliament, even if it existed, would find any measure of unanimity behind it in dealing with the really vital questions of world politics. And it is to the growth of such a body of opinion through the exchange of views between statesmen, officials and students of public affairs rather than to the formulation of immediate policies that we must look for the real value of the Assembly's work. It is, in fact, what it was designed to be—not a parliament but a kind of open forum for the opinions of mankind, or rather, for the opinions of the different organized groups and states into which mankind is still divided. To see English, French, Italians, Japanese, Canadians, Poles, Bulgarians, Albanians, and South and Central Americans fraternizing together outside the Salle de la Réformation and driving or walking away together across the Rhone bridge to discuss the morning's meeting over lunch is to realize how many kinds of people there are in the world and what a lot of rubbing off of angles is needed before they can be made to agree together upon its problems.

It is important that this educational aspect of the work of the League should be more fully realized by the public opinion of its component states. There is still too wide a disposition, to which expression was given by a Canadian delegate

during the debates, to regard the League simply as an organization to stop war. If it were merely that, it would not mark an epoch-making or even an assured improvement upon previous schemes for arbitration and conciliation; for not only do the clauses of the Covenant actually permit war when the requirements of publicity and delay have been fully met, but the League has showed itself powerless to intervene effectively when its members have become involved in hostilities. Greece, a member of the League, is at present at war with Turkey; Jugoslavia and Albania, both members, are apparently engaged in some kind of warlike operations; while Costa Rica and Panama, also both members, were lately involved in hostilities which were only stopped by the action of the United States. These details are not mentioned in order to deride this side of the League's work but in order to remind Canadians who have the good fortune to live in a more placid part of the world that the task of enforcing peace between angry or traditionally hostile nations cannot be carried out simply by pressing a button or creating a new political machine.

The real remedy for war, in fact, lies in a deeper region than the arbitration and conciliation clauses of the Covenant. It lies in the effort to handle the *Causes of War* at a stage when they can still be prevented from becoming dangerous to the peace of the world. What are the causes of war? They cannot be stated in a sentence. They are the resultant of the interaction and collision of innumerable political, economic, social, racial, and sometimes even religious interests and passions. The first necessity for any one who wishes to prevent these interests and passions from disturbing the peace of mankind is to understand them. If, for instance, there is a fear that the interests and passions of the white people of Canada may collide with those of China, Japan, or India, the first duty of a Canadian is to try and understand what it is in the mind or makeup or tradition, say, of the Japanese people which gives rise to the likelihood of such a conflict. The conflict of passion with passion produces heat, but the conflict of understanding with understanding, even when the resultant opinions are very divergent, produces light. The attempt to analyse and sift the causes of war inevitably leads to the discov-

ery of a great deal that is common ground between the two parties and to the isolation of some definite problem or set of problems which are the real cause of the trouble. Sometimes, as perhaps in the case of the divergence between the Canadian and Japanese peoples, the trouble is rather a matter of mutual misunderstanding and wounded sensibilities than any practical grievance. In other words, it is a matter of passion or sentiment rather than of interest. But it is even harder to analyse psychological problems to the bottom than to sift a practical grievance. And it is for this reason that actual personal contact between the wiser and more gifted representatives of the nations concerned is so important for the appeasement of international misunderstanding.

Now the Assembly, meeting as it does for a month every year, undoubtedly diffuses a large measure of mutual understanding between the different delegates. But there is another part of the mechanism of the League which functions not for one month, but for twelve months in the year—the Secretariat. No one who has visited Geneva and watched the work of the League at headquarters can fail to realize that the Secretariat is much the most vital part of its work. Here you have a body of men and women drawn from some forty nations who are really, in the most literal sense, the servants of mankind. It has often been proposed before to create a service of this kind. King Leopold in the Congo, for instance, purported to essay the task. But hitherto the attempt has always broken down in the face of the individual or national selfishness of those concerned. At Geneva, thanks, we may be proud to say, to British organization at the top, these difficulties have been circumvented and there has been inaugurated an international civil service with a truly international "esprit de corps" and an enthusiasm, a detachment and a receptiveness which have enabled it to win the confidence of the various groups, nations and interests with whom it is brought into contact.

In what does the work of the Secretariat consist? Its main work lies in carrying out the provisions of numerous international treaties and conventions concluded before the war. Very few people realized in 1914, or when the League was

first constructed, what a large amount of international organization already existed in the world. All sorts of agencies or bureaus had been established to deal with questions which individual governments were powerless to handle alone. All these agencies were, by an article of the Covenant, centralized under the Secretariat at Geneva. Most of the work thus carried on is already non-controversial. The best example perhaps is the question of health. It only needs a moment's reflection to realize that the war of mankind against plague, typhus, syphilis and other scourges of the human race must be waged according to a common plan and through an international organization. Once such an organization is constructed, it is bound to be permanent, for the advantages derived from it become obvious to everybody. There are a great many other problems which are just as international, and just as much in need of being dealt with from a single centre, as the problem of health. But in most cases men are not yet ready to consider them so. The question of industrial raw materials, for instance, is not generally regarded in this light. But the time will come when we shall be driven so to regard it, for the conflict of interest between the industrial nations on this subject is a far more likely cause of war than the conflict of passions between the white and yellow races. Another instance is the question of trade preferences which is likely to become, as it was fast becoming in 1914, a source of international controversy. It is in fact useless, and may even be hypocritical, to profess a vague enthusiasm for international harmony and goodwill unless such professions are accompanied by an honest desire to deal with the complex and difficult problems which form the raw material of future disputes. It is because the League of Nations promises the best means yet established for prompting the discussion of such problems and helping, so to speak, to ripen them for practical settlement by statesmen, and not merely because of its establishment of a court of international justice and other similar machinery, that it has become an indispensable part of the organized activities of mankind.

A. E. ZIMMERN.

The Political Situation in Canada.

Canadian politics are in an extraordinary confusion. There has never been an election when so many voters were uncertain how to vote. It is not merely that great numbers of women are voting for the first time. The chief element of uncertainty and difficulty comes in the breakdown of the old parties, and the gradual reshaping of the new that are to take their place.

As to specific issues, the endeavour has been made to keep the tariff in the forefront of the contest. The Agrarian party have made a distinct downward revision of the tariff their foremost plank; Mr. Meighen has nailed his colours to the mast of high protection, while Mr. King has the congenial role of proffering the services of Liberalism as the sane and moderate mediator between extremes. In urging high protection as the only salvation of the country from bankruptcy and Bolshevism, Mr. Meighen is able to rally many strong forces. He can count on the naive and rooted protectionist belief that but for the tariff, foreign countries would insist on swamping us with imports without accepting any exports in return. He appeals to the fears and interests of manufacturers, who, rightly or wrongly, imagine that their plants can bloom only in the shade of a tariff wall. He is aided by the instinctive prejudice against the foreigner; the popular assumption that our dollar is at a discount in the United States because of American arrogance or excess of imports, and not least, the provocation given by the Fordney Emergency Tariff. Yet these cries have been worked so often, that they are losing something of their force. It is very hard to make the unsophisticated elector, as he looks around him in Canada today, believe that freer trade creates stagnation and unemployment, and protection creates progress and prosperity. The consumer, and not in the country alone, is feeling that his time has come, and that after forty years of moderate or adequate protection, it might be well to try moderate or adequate reduction. On the other hand, aside from the Western rural areas, there is little demand for sudden and sweeping tariff change. It is recognized that industry must be given ample time to adjust itself to a new trend of policy. There is little doubt that the electoral major-

ity will call for the continuance of a tariff but a tariff revised downwards by moderate stages, a tariff made intelligible.

The railway situation is receiving little attention, though it is probably of distinctly greater importance to Canadian industry than the tariff. It is avoided because no party, for the present, wishes to challenge the existing solution. There is at the moment no alternative to government ownership of all the lines outside the Canadian Pacific. The experiment has been begun and it must be carried on for a time, both in order to give public ownership a fair trial in good times as well as in bad, and because there is no immediate alternative. Many will agree to this policy, who wholly disagree with the way in which the country was led into it. Whether the taking over of the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk systems was due to imperative financial necessity, or to public ownership enthusiasm or to the manœuvring of financiers and promoters and speculators to unload their white elephants on an obliging country, makes no immediate difference; we have public ownership and at present there is no way out. Lord Shaughnessy's plan has met with little favour. The organizing capacity and efficiency of the Canadian Pacific is one of Canada's greatest industrial assets, but it does not follow that it would be good either for the country or for the Canadian Pacific itself to hand over to it Canada's railways on the terms Lord Shaughnessy proposes,—good for the country to have a railway monopoly, or good for the Canadian Pacific administration to have an easy and assured six per cent. It is, however, quite conceivable, that if in the course of the next few years, the deficits on the state railways do not materially decrease, the movement for a reversion to private ownership will grow strong, and the attempt may be made to have the roads taken over by two or three new or existing private corporations. But for the present the state has the field.

Another economic issue has been brought forward by the government's proposal to establish a national grain pool or marketing agency. During the war when trade and shipping conditions were chaotic, and gave unwonted openings for hoarding and speculation, and the distribution of grain was being determined by agreements between the allied govern-

ments, there was much to be said for such an arrangement. The need has passed today. The private and co-operative agencies provide an adequate machinery for peace needs; low prices must be met by more fundamental factors, and credit extensions can be secured through the ordinary credit agencies. Were the Government to enter the field of buying and selling grain, and incidentally of holding crops for a higher market, international relations would be complicated and class feeling, the friction between country and town, producer and consumer, intensified and brought definitely into politics. There is need for the fullest investigation, by a fair tribunal, of the existing marketing agencies, and if the co-operative grain companies have followed the method of big business in manipulating returns from overages and screenings, the sooner the light is let in the better. But publicity, not a government agency, is the safer remedy for any ills that exist. It may be hoped that after the election nothing further will be heard of a government grain pool, either on a voluntary basis as Mr. Meighen proposes, or, still less, on a compulsory basis, as some western farmers propose.

Imperial relations have been little debated in the present contest. Mr. Meighen has declared that there is not from any quarter any questioning of Canadian autonomy, but a survey of his own policy does not wholly confirm that statement. His stand on the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, it is true, was in essentials a Nationalist position. Few men could have held out for that position with the definiteness, clearness and consistency which Mr. Meighen showed, even at the cost of upsetting Mr. Lloyd George's plans and temper. In objecting to the renewal of an alliance which is wholly out of harmony with the ideals of the League of Nations, which would involve endless friction with the United States, and for which not a single reasonable ground has been publicly offered, and in declaring that if the British Government did insist upon renewing, the Canadian Parliament would not be a party to it, Mr. Meighen interpreted Canadian feeling aright. Canadians want to be on good terms with Japan, but they do not want to be war allies with Japan, or of any other country outside the Empire. On the other hand, Mr. Meighen's acceptance of the assump-

tion that Canada can share in the control of foreign policy only by participating in London conferences or cabinets where this policy is to be determined, would involve the most complete acceptance of Imperial centralization yet proposed. It matters not that Imperial Parliaments, Imperial Councils, and Imperial Navies have been rejected, if the doctrine of a single, uniform imperial foreign policy is to be adopted. A little study of what Britain's foreign policy is, and of what our foreign policy is—from the making of tariffs and the control of immigration to the dividing of Niagara power—will make clear what a revolution Mr. Meighen proposes,and how far he has drifted from the Macdonald-Laurier position. However, his pronouncement on this point is important chiefly for the future. The concrete and present situation presented by the Anglo-Japanese Treaty Mr. Meighen has dealt with on lines that no upholder of Canadian self-government can object to in substance, and it seems quite unnecessary to worry at present about the future.

It is, however, not any specific question of policy that gives most interest and causes most uncertainty in the present election, but rather the general question of the basis of political organization. Are the electors to be divided into two great parties as of yore, or into four or five or more groups? And if groups continue, are they to be based on class lines or on sectional lines, or on more abstract principles of policy? The present break-down of the older national parties and the rise of groups have been more or less inevitable. The decay of ancient principles and personal loyalties, the rise of new and disturbing issues, the accentuation of racial and class cleavage during and since the war, have made a regrouping of the voters inescapable. It may be that the group system will be permanent, or it may prove only a transition stage, a machinery for resorting the voters eventually into more definite and real Conservative and Liberal parties. In any case, the situation exists, and there is no use scolding or deploring.

Race, language and religious differences will long continue to exist in this land of many stocks, but it is by no means inevitable that these differences will be so great and

so overshadowing as to determine the lines of political cleavage. For the present, Quebec is a fairly solid bloc. That this should be so should not surprise anyone who happens to remember that there was an election in Canada in 1917 in which Quebec was the issue, an election in which the majority of the English-speaking people of Ontario and the West combined to impose upon Quebec the policy of conscription. Wherever the ultimate responsibility for that situation rests, whether with Nationalist extremists in Quebec, or imperialist extremists in other provinces, or in the inherent difficulties of a situation in which one half our people and one half only are linked by ties of blood and intercourse to a suzerain (or hitherto suzerain) power across the seas, need not be debated here. It is inevitable that after such a campaign racial feeling should be strong and that the preservation of the position and standing of the French element in our population should assume first place in the thought and policy of Quebec. But given a growth of definitely Canadian national sentiment, and a reprieve from wars and imperial crises, there seems no reason to expect a solid Quebec in the future. There are wide differences of opinion in Quebec itself on other issues, which are bound to emerge once more and are in fact emerging now. Even in the present election, the agrarian movement promises to count in not a few constituencies, and the Nationalist movement may revive at any time, linked to, or dominating, if Mr. Bourassa could so manage, a Quebec agrarian group and perhaps a confessional labor union group. On the whole, there is an encouraging tendency, both in Quebec and outside it, to seek a basis of reconciliation and harmony, so that we may look to the fading of this line of cleavage and this possible basis of group organization.

The sectional cleavage between east and west is not a cleavage of race; it is in some measure a cleavage of temperament, but essentially it is a cleavage of occupation, the divergence between predominantly agricultural and predominantly industrial communities, one instance, therefore, of the grouping on class lines.

The class group, definitely and avowedly so organized, is a new phenomenon in our politics. Is it to be permanent?

Undoubtedly the world swing is in that direction. The more the state goes into business, the more will business get into politics; the more economic interests are affected by state action, through tariffs, railway regulation or operation, wage-fixing, state insurance, grain pools, and what-not, the more will economic issues be the staple of political contests, and economic interest or supposed interest afford a possible dividing line in political organization. There is not much prospect of a lessening of that dominance in our time, however much race or religious or other non-economic issues, and wars, so far as they are non-economic in origin, may from time to time divert attention.

Can we, then, escape a dominantly economic and class basis of our politics? At bottom, it is a moral question. We can escape group selfishness only if we rise above individual selfishness. The man who puts his own small gain above the greater good of his fellows will be as selfish in his combined activities as in his individual activities. There is no alchemy that can extract group disinterestedness out of individual selfishness. A spirit of moderation, a sense of solidarity, a feeling of common Canadianism and common brotherhood, are the fundamental cure for excessive class-interest. But we can lessen temptation as well as increase the power to resist it. The more successfully we can sweep away all existing class privileges and devise policies to reconcile class interests, the less marked will be the cleavage, the less provocative the challenge.

The farmers' party at present is a class group in organization and predominantly so in membership, but it is not now a class group in spirit or in aim. Class action may sometimes be defensive, necessary to check the aggression of other classes, a means to the peace and respect that come when forces are healthily balanced. The agrarian movement may degenerate into a union for class ends, or it may widen into a party general in its membership as in its spirit. There are men and tendencies making for the lower aim. The farmer who demands free agricultural implements and yet calls for the prohibition of the sale of oleomargarine is the raw material of a very narrow class party; the recall, if wielded by a group

committee, is a very potent instrument for fashioning such a party. If the organization were permanently to be limited to a class, the aims would inevitably become the aims of a class. A government of the people by farmers for farmers would be a change, but otherwise little improvement over a government of the people by lawyers for manufacturers. Fortunately the Crerars and the Drurys and the Greenfields have the wider vision. There is every indication that the farmers' movement will make for national unity, not disunion, and that in time its main stream will flow in the channel of a genuinely liberal and progressive citizenship.

The Irish Negotiations.

In spite of wreckers and rumours, the Irish negotiations continue. There is a fair prospect that what an Irishman has called the oldest war in the world, the Seven Hundred Years' war between Ireland and England, may at last be brought to an end.

Thanks to Mr. Lloyd George's flexibility, negotiations have begun. His tender of a conference was an immense advance on the earlier British position. It was well conceived and admirably phrased. To call Mr. Lloyd George's action generous, however, as some Canadian editors have done, is quite to misinterpret the man and the situation. When a statesman, who a few months before had declared that he 'had murder by the throat,' and who had strained every nerve to conquer Ireland by tanks, machine guns, Black and Tans, and blasts from Hamar Greenwood, suddenly recognizes the failure and hopelessness of his policy, and plans to make a compromise, it is not a question of generosity. That word does not figure very prominently in Mr. Lloyd George's vocabulary, or at least in his policy. He has, however, a quality that is still rarer, and perhaps still more indispensable: the ability to face facts, to adapt himself quickly and whole-heartedly to changing circumstances: an extreme adaptability. Whatever the outcome of the negotiations, he deserves credit for having courage to make this right-about-face, despite the urgings of the die-hard Unionists.

Thanks to the firmness of the Sinn Feiners, the negotia-

tions have been begun on the right basis. The prospects of a permanent peace would have been less than they are had the Dail Eireann rushed to accept Mr. Lloyd George's first offer, as many advisers urged. The offer was not Dominion Home Rule, and it was not made to a united Ireland. The disqualifications which Mr. Lloyd George sought to impose, and which General Smuts, hardly living up to his reputation for candour, sought to endorse, would have subjected Ireland to a distinctly inferior status within the Empire, and would have given no assurance of a united Ireland. If the Sinn Feiners had gone into the conference with Mr. Lloyd George on his first terms, they would have shown their incapacity for negotiation. They would have given away all their cards in advance, and in case of a break-up would have had to bear the onus of the failure. There is some reason for believing that the Dail is prepared to accept a status within the British Empire, but it probably will do so voluntarily only on two conditions: that it is a status of complete equality with Britain, and that Ulster comes in, now or perhaps later. Mr. De Valera, however, has overshot his mark. In more than one instance he has shown himself not merely firm but unyielding. Phrases in the correspondence between Mr. Lloyd George and himself, and particularly his ill-timed and uncalled for message to the Pope, have imposed serious difficulties in the way of settlement. In view of the history of the remote past and the near past alike, it is not surprising that the Irish leader should be suspicious and tenacious, but it is well that the direct negotiations are in the hands of more adaptable men.

If settlement is to be effected, both sides must make concessions. England must concede full and complete equality to Ireland. Her sacrifice is the lesser. She is not asked to sacrifice her freedom, her security, her honour, but merely her pride, her right to dominate her neighbour. The rule of England over Ireland has ended. It cannot be restored again except by a war which would leave Ireland weltering in blood, would bankrupt England's prestige, and would, as things stand today in India and the mid-East, risk the loss of her whole Asiatic Empire. The only lasting solution is on the basis of full and free equality.

Southern Ireland cannot be asked to sacrifice freedom; she is right in demanding equality; but she would be wrong in standing out for the mere form and phantom of freedom. If Ireland is accorded the opportunity of full independence within the Empire, as a co-equal kingdom, and with Ulster coming in on that basis,and yet rejects the opportunity because of the nominal link with England and the nominal restriction on her liberty involved in allegiance to the crown, there are few friends of Erin who would have any sympathy or support for her position. She must come to terms with Ulster. Any attempt to impose the rule of the Dail Eireann by force in North East Ulster would result in a murderous and implacable civil war, and would make it impossible for England to agree to withdraw. Coming to terms with Ulster means in the first place that Ulster must be conceded a wide measure of local autonomy, as one of the provinces in the New Ireland. On this point there is not likely to be serious difficulty, upon the side of Southern Ireland. Nationalists and Sinn Feiners alike have steadily professed their willingness to grant every reasonable safe-guard for Ulster's traditions and institutions, and in practice they have shown themselves without question more tolerant than their neighbours in the North East. More difficulty will come on the second point. A large part of Ireland is emphatically and enthusiastically Republican, and unwilling to accept any tie whatever with Britain. Yet it is clear that on no other terms will Ulster come in and on no other terms will Britain make peace. As to the form of the tie, there is room for argument and negotiation. Dominion Home Rule has much in its favour, but that status is as yet uncertain and incomplete, as Mr. Lloyd George's definition and the refusal of the United States to invite the Dominions to the Washington Conference in their own right sufficiently indicate. It is certainly not at present a status of equality. The Irish leaders would therefore be on much safer ground if they reverted to the old Kingdom of Ireland basis, demanding a repeal of the Union and the re-establishment or creation of an Irish Kingdom, owing allegiance to the same King as also rules over Britain. The Kingdom basis would give a measure

of historical continuity; it would give more certainty of equality, and it should carry a greater appeal to the pride of Ulster.

As to Ulster, the prospects are most uncertain. The bitterness of Belfast was apparently never deeper. There will be vigorous resistance to any pact with Dublin. Yet Sir James Craig and the more responsible leaders of Ulster industry appear to be prepared to discuss a settlement. Ulstermen cannot be brought in by force. It is doubtful if they can be brought in by boycott. Appeal can be made to the fundamental Irish feeling of large parts of North East Ulster, to the realization of the need of peace, and not least, to the expectation that a greater role may be played by the leading section in an Irish Kingdom than by an isolated North-East Province. Much will depend on the relative scope of the powers conceded to Ulster by the existing Act, and powers agreed upon for the new Dominion or Kingdom; if, as should be the case, the advantages of the wider union in scope and independence, in fiscal freedom and financial terms, are much greater, there is room for hope. It is in this way that Britain can best advance peace. She cannot desert Ulster; neither can she disregard her responsibility for Ulster's attitude. To declare, as some men do, that the quarrel in Ireland is a quarrel between Irishmen for which Britain has no responsibility, is to ignore the conquest and plantation, to ignore the connexion between Protestant ascendancy and British garrisoning, and to ignore the fact that Ulster's present quasi-separate status rests largely on an Act of a British parliament passed in accordance with Sir Edward Carson's will.

With serious and inherent difficulties to solve, with pride and passion roused by years of struggle, with wild men on each side seeking to block agreement, the way of the negotiators is not easy. But they know that the alternative to agreement is war and chaos, and they will not likely abandon the most hopeful approach to agreement which has been attempted in our time.

O. D. SKELTON.

America and the League.

Attacks on the Harding Administration, both within and without the United States, have been directed mainly against the position it has assumed in international politics. The President was elected on a policy of non-participation in the League of Nations. A month before his election he described it as "already scrapped." But even so far as American policy is concerned, it is increasingly clear that this utterance was, to say the least, premature. Not the verdict of the election nor the reiterated hostility of Harding, nor the rude announcement by the Ambassador to England that America would "have nothing to do with the League openly or furtively," have sufficed to drive the League question from American politics. The persistence of the issue is largely due to the infant history of the League itself which has been such as increasingly to call forth admiration and support from progressive Americans. During the past year it has recorded no gross or stupid failures; instead there has been one modest but impressive triumph after another.

These achievements are discussed elsewhere in this column; but two observations may here be made regarding matters of special interest to America. The first is the impression made by the two successful sessions of the League Assembly. In nothing has the League more deeply disappointed its enemies than in the truly free world-forum which the Assembly has afforded. American internationalists of the kind who opposed the League on its inception as an instrument of the Treaty, like Jane Addams, have confessed themselves converted to it by the proceedings of this Parliament of Man.

Another test is still to come. Americans will watch with interest the future of the knotty Silesian problem, which, in a new confession of the failure of the old fashioned diplomacy, the Allied Powers have handed over to the League. Any peaceful solution of this tangle would win the applause of the nations and inevitably attract American support. Should the solution devised break clear away from the Versailles Treaty, and set up a separate governmental unit in the disputed area, under the direct protection of the League, the cry that the lat-

ter is only an instrument for the enforcement of the Treaty will have lost its propaganda value.

Meanwhile the President's promised Association of Nations has not emerged from the shadows. The coming Conference on the Limitation of Armaments is not avowedly related to this vague election proposal. The difficulties in the way of any American-made Association of Nations are well nigh insuperable. To secure the required two-thirds vote in the Senate would call for the support not only of the pro-League Republicans but also of a considerable number of Democrats. Still more improbable is the concurrence in the scheme of any considerable number of national states. Three quarters of the human race are already committed to the League. The peoples of the world are coming to regard it with sentiments of loyalty and hope. Forty nations have accomplished more than one nation can undo.

But has Harding burned all his bridges behind him?

It would rather appear that he had been careful not to burn them. Two of the 'Thirty-one Eminent Republicans' who last year promised that their candidate would bring America into the League, have accepted invitations to membership in his cabinet. Another goes as Ambassador to China. What Hughes, Hoover and Harding are saying to one another these days is matter of curiosity to both pro-Leaguers and bitter-enders. The able editor of the "Independent", Hamilton Holt, advocate of a League of Nations years before it was an issue in politics and still a notable spokesman of sane internationalism, has written open letters both to Harding and to the eminent Thirty-one—"Do you still maintain," he demands of Their Eminences, (Aug. 6) "that Harding will bring the United States into the League of Nations: if so when, and under what conditions?" The Thirty-one remain mute. Harding keeps his secret. To depict his attitude stale cartoonists resort to the obvious Sphinx. But some day ere long, his riddle will be read.

The American voter, whatever his choice last year between unsatisfactory candidates, ordinarily shows a good deal of practical sense. The artfully fanned resentment against Woodrow Wilson which proved the most potent factor in pol-

itics last November can no longer be successfully invoked. Plain men begin to ask, why should we alone remain aloof from this going concern in which all other important nations are members? There is of course the Monroe Doctrine. On this point the American is not practical; he is doctrinaire. But the historically minded are informing the public that the Munroe Doctrine has not in the past excluded the United States from participation in the settlement of old-world problems—witness for example the Algeciras incident in 1906 when Roosevelt held up the Kaiser's little enterprise in Morocco. The formula of Jefferson was "Friendly relations with all: entangling alliances with none." Over intent on the latter part of this injunction, America has of late almost overlooked the former part of it. It now remains to be seen whether the internationalism of Wilson and the progressivism of Roosevelt will have force to influence the policy of the nominee of reactionary nationalism. Optimistic Progressives and Wilson Democrats are already regarding the Disarmament Conference as a back door leading into the League. The matters announced for discussion in this conference are intimately connected with the League programme, and can hardly be negotiated upon without reference to it. If the European Powers are in earnest about peace and reconstruction, they will assist America to make her belated entrance without too great embarrassment. The situation is one that calls for the utmost discretion, tact and courtesy.

Some revision of the League covenant will possibly be a necessary condition of American participation. It will gratify America if her concern for defenceless peoples is recognized by changes in the mandate system. If this is done she may perhaps even yet be induced to follow the passionate advice of Mr. Morgenthau and accept that mandate for Armenia. Now that it can be said with virtual certainty that the League will survive, even the most hostile administration would hardly dare to continue the policy of having "nothing to do with it openly or furtively".

JOHN T. MCNEILL.

Oct. 10.

CAUSERIE ON BOOKS.

AN Emperor, taking his daily drive, was shot at by an assassin. The bullet apparently missed its mark, and the Emperor, still smiling and saluting, continued his progress, to the admiration of the populace. It seems, however, that the real Emperor had become bored with driving and bowing and being gaped at, and that his advisers, fearing the resentment of the people, had ordered a clock-work Emperor from England, which made a royal progress as graciously as the Emperor of flesh and blood, and behaved as coolly under fire. It was a narrow escape; for if the bullet had gone one-eighth of an inch lower, the mechanism would have stopped. So the tale is told, and it must be true, because Mr. Max Beerbohm saw it in Count *'s secret memoirs.

It is the paradox of kingship that men have given more ardent loyalty to a Person than to an Institution, yet assiduously train the Person to be an Institution, a mechanism as regular as the clock-work Emperor and as easily replaceable. From the first shot that heralds his birth to the splendid ceremonial of depositing him with his fathers he is hedged about with precedent, routine, form and order. He marries by prescription, and must smile and smile though he have the toothache. He is a symbol and must behave like one. Louis XIV, who *was* the state, was reverentially assisted into the royal garments in public and performed his exiguous ablutions each morning before the Court. But he never appeared as mere man. When the august head emerged from the bed-curtains, it was already crowned with the Wig.

Yet, having done our worst with royalty, we long to reassure ourselves that they are still men. We want the wig removed; we must know whether there is really *nothing* under the four or five waistcoats of George IV. Even the assassin's bullet is the final assertion that his Emperor is a man and not a Court automaton. Hath not a King eyes? hath not a King hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons . .?

Court bulletins and the formal eulogies or discreet silences of Court biographies do not assuage this thirst:

> "How many lies did it require to make
> The portly truth you here present us with?"

Of all flat fictions royal biographies are the flattest. The *Early Years of the Prince Consort* has some claim to be the most unreadable book (*biblion abibliotaton*) of the nineteenth century, and in *The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort* (five volumes quarto) the author proved himself a courtier by laying his literary reputation in the mud for a Queen to step on.

There are, it is true, means of penetrating the five-fold buckram that envelops the royal frame. Princes show touches of humanity—it is even their *métier*; courts are whispering galleries, and courtiers have been indiscreet, if only to their diaries. The piercing implacable eyes of a Saint-Simon may record the scene behind the scenes of whole reigns. And of late there has sprung into ranker activity an industry—literature it is not—which relieves the sentimental craving of loyal ladies to peep into the arcana of royalty. Mildly improper, dexterously skirting round the scandalous, it reveals how this high personage threw the handkerchief to that frail lady, how they lived at the Tuileries, how Rudolph of Austria came to his death. Presumably it pays, but gossip about royalty is still gossip.

Mr. Lytton Strachey's *Queen Victoria*[1] must be judged by different standards. That insight, wit, balance, critical detachment, style, would mark it was certain from *Eminent Victorians*. But that work was itself part of the reaction against Victorianism, and evoked protests from those who prefer their heroes in stainless white. Perhaps the author did glance too irreverently at Dr. Arnold's legs; perhaps he treated Dr. Arnold's doctrines with unbecoming levity. Dr. Arnold's granddaughter, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, who carried into our own age the high Victorian seriousness unmitigated by any tinge of her uncle's humour, read him a lecture on the

[1]Lytton Strachey, *Queen Victoria*; F. D. Goodchild Company, Toronto, 1921; pp. 434, with nine illustrations; $5.00 net.

vice of irony, and who shall say that he has not profited by the instruction? In this book Mr. Strachey is a subtler craftsman: his irony plays round the incongruities and contrasts of character, but is never allowed to become his master. He penetrates behind the lay figure of sentimental myth, and as decisively undermines the new legend of the reaction, which smiles her down as a portentous embodiment of Victorian limitations. In their place he has set a genuine, not unsympathetic portrait of the living woman, intellectually unequal to her station, indomitably resolved to be a Queen.

We, mere epigoni that we are, saw the Queen in all the prestige of later years, when her name was inextricably interfused with the great deeds of the Victorian age. Or we romantically idealize a young girl who redeemed the throne from the contempt into which it had fallen. But that young girl was the very granddaughter of George III, vehement, prejudiced, implacable; that venerated woman never comprehended the age to which she gave her name—if she had, it would have incurred her severe disapproval. In especial the decline of royal power happily escaped her incredulous eye. What silken fetters, unnoted and unsuspected, were fastened upon her who excluded a Tory ministry from power rather than part with her ladies, and who gave even Disraeli (Faery though she was!) many an anxious hour? Again, no woman was ever more determined —and few have possessed such determination—to keep her royal authority in her own hands. From the accession her mother was inexorably cut off from every vestige of influence; with more tact but no less firmly she kept her uncle and mentor, the King of the Belgians, at a distance; and to her last hours the heir himself was not permitted to participate in state affairs. Yet the reign was a succession of influences, domestic and political—Lehzen, Stockmar, Melbourne, Albert, the Memory of Albert, Disraeli, John Brown.

There was a time, as Mr. Strachey dexterously shows, when the Crown threatened to overshadow its Ministers. If Albert had lived, Albert who declared that Parliamentary institutions were on their trial! At the first he was a cipher, and his tenacious wife intended him to be a cipher. But the

young man was tenacious too. And he had Stockmar, the seasoned mentor of princes, to urge him on. Power he did acquire, and used it. Why did Victoria insensibly yield to him? He was far abler; she was passionately in love with him. Was Albert passionately in love with Victoria? Did he seek relief from a Court not conspicuously intellectual, in the enthralling pursuits of high politics? "Nothing would induce him to stop. Weary ministers staggered under the load of his advice; but his advice continued, piling itself up over their writing tables, and flowing out upon them from red box after red box. Nor was it advice to be ignored. . ." "His work, for which at last he came to crave with an almost morbid appetite, was a solace and not a cure: the dragon of his dissatisfaction devoured with dark relish that ever-growing tribute of laborious days and nights, but it was hungry still." When disease came, he had no will to live. If he had lived—

> "What Minister, however able, however popular, could have withstood the wisdom, the irreproachability, the vast prescriptive authority, of the venerable Prince? It is easy to imagine how, under such a ruler, an attempt might have been made to convert England into a State as exactly organized, as efficiently equipped, and as autocratically controlled, as Prussia herself. Then perhaps, eventually, under some powerful leader—a Gladstone or a Bright—the democratic forces in the country might have rallied together, and a struggle would have followed in which the Monarchy would have been shaken to its foundations. Or, on the other hand, Disraeli's hypothetical prophecy might have come true. 'With Prince Albert,' he said, 'we have buried our sovereign. This German Prince has governed England for twenty-one years with a wisdom and energy such as none of our Kings have ever shown. . . If he had outlived some of our "old stagers" he would have given us the blessings of absolute government.'"

It could not be. Victoria assured Stockmar that she would carry on her husband's work. But the bust of Albert, however devoutly contemplated, did not give forth the wisdom of Albert. And what was she against the strong spirit of the age? She might storm and threaten to abdicate—as she did when Disraeli preferred finesse to war with Russia in 1878—but she had not the intellectual power to make a policy and enforce it. Uncompromising, she still compromised. Hard common sense restrained her from pressing disputes, no mat-

ter how vehement, to extremity. And there were compensations. The great prestigiator, as astute a courtier as diplomat, could assure her that she would soon be the "Dictatress of Europe"; indeed she did become the Dictatress of European royal marriages.[1] Albert had utterly distrusted Disraeli; but then Albert never knew this friend who so delicately interpreted her feelings to herself, this statesman whose single apparent desire was to carry out her royal will.

> D'Ormea was wicked, say, some twenty years;
> A tree so long was stunted; afterward,
> What if it grew, continued growing, till
> No fellow of the forest equalled it?

The prodigious routine of state business soothed her with the appearance, if not the substance, of power. And finally, past discontents forgotten, she became a legend in her own lifetime, loved for the simplicity and sincerity that were her cardinal virtues, venerated as the perfect blend of Person and Institution that every happy King would wish to be.

Her instinct for autocracy, as Mr. Strachey notes, found full scope in another sphere. From that sacred hearthrug,[1] where none but royal feet might tread, she exercised a rigid but benevolent sway. About her the whole court system revolved, in strict order of precedence, and her eager interest extended to its remotest bounds, to the humblest scullions of the household, their cousins and their aunts. While time and the age hurried on, she created for herself a little world of routine and observance, she recreated the vanished impermanent past in perdurable memorials.[1] It is a pathetic mark of this passion to make time run backward that for nearly forty years Albert's clothes were laid out each evening on his

[1]Once, however, she tried a fall with Bismarck, and lost.

[1]See Miss Ethel Smyth's brilliant account of a dinner at Balmoral, *London Mercury*, Nov., 1920. The article is worth reading if only for the description of the curtseys exchanged between the two great ladies, Eugenie and Victoria, as they parted.

[1]One memorial has disappeared; it was one of the first acts of the new reign to remove John Brown's statue from the policies of Balmoral. But the hills of Balmoral still bristle with cairns and obelisks.

bed and water placed for him in the basin. Nor were these pious cults confined to the dead.

> "The collecting instinct has its roots in the very depths of human nature, and, in the case of Victoria, it seemed to owe its force to two of her dominating impulses—the intense sense, which had always been hers, of her own personality, and the craving which, growing with the years, had become in her old age almost an obsession, for fixity, for solidity, for the setting up of palpable barriers against the outrages of change and time. When she considered the multitudinous objects which belonged to her, or better still, when, choosing out some section as the fancy took her, she actually savoured the vivid richness of their individual qualities, she saw herself deliciously reflected from a million facets, felt herself magnified miraculously over a boundless area, and was well pleased. This was just as it should be: but then came the dismaying thought—everything slips away, crumbles, vanishes; Sèvres dinner-services get broken; even golden basins go unaccountably astray; even one's self, with all the recollections and experiences that make up one's being, fluctuates, perishes, dissolves. . . But no! It could not, should not be so! There should be no changes and no losses! Nothing should ever move—neither the past nor the present—and she herself least of all! And so the tenacious woman, hoarding her valuables, decreed their immortality with all the resolution of her soul. She would not lose one memory or one pin.
>
> "She gave orders that nothing should be thrown away—and nothing was."

In this urbane style, so remote from the devastating cosmic irony of *Sartor Resartus,* Mr. Strachey has composed his masterpiece. He has not dispelled an illusion; the illusion was dissipating itself. The reader turns the last page less critical, more kindly, because he has understood. He is no longer tempted to say in haste: if England had only been a museum, what an incomparable guardian it would have had! Nor will his last thought, salutary though it is, be that high intellect must be married to firm will in a born ruler of men. As he scans the portraits from the sham-romantic Winterhalter in the frontispiece to that wonderful photograph of 1897, where she sits, with lines of power deep-graven from the arrogant nostrils to that obstinate mouth, a conscious Queen, haughty, not unbenignant, secure—he need not wonder that sixty years of unslackening toil, singleness of aim, simplicity,

raised her to a pinnacle in men's minds. Perhaps after all the Victorian age was akin to her in more ways than critics allow. Those exploring minds of the nineteenth century sounded along dim and perilous ways beyond her imagination. But the very root of their work was a certain moral stability and soundness.

XANTHIAS.

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY



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JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH, 1922

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Queen's Quarterly.

VOL. XXIX January, February, March, 1922 No. 3

THE SECOND ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.[1]

The Stage of the League of Nations:

The abode of the League of Nations consists of a single building in the hotel quarter of Geneva, which would be a very large hotel indeed, and was called in the good old times the Hotel Nationale. An old lady who lived there when it was first built declared to me that the little tea biscuits of the Hotel Nationale were the best ever made in this miserable world! It surprised us to see how this structure fulfils the needs of an international political gathering such as the League of Nations. The modern hotels of Europe are built in a different taste. The Ritz-Carltons and their like do not aim any longer to be "Palace" hotels; they try to present to the guests a home-like aspect, with a profusion of inglenooks, easy corners, fireplaces, etc., etc., and with diamond-tiled bath-rooms. Fortunately for the League of Nations this old-fashioned Hotel Nationale was for sale two years ago, and in very good condition, and the League bought it for over a million francs. The smoking rooms of the old hotel, the flower gardens, the conservatories, and the tea rooms with high ceilings and large windows are to-day answering wonderfully the requirements of the League of Nations. There is ample accommodation for delegates from all over the world. There, again, you have another proof that times are changed; no more fashionable travellers and slackers of international society will be gathered in "Palaces" of that kind. On the other hand, we have there perhaps the most important institution in the world to-day, democratically installed in a second-hand building.

[1]Written in November, 1921.

The League has rented still another residence—Le Bureau Internationale de Travail—situated in a very old pensionette which hardly fulfils the requirements—and yet the wild people of the Bureau Internationale de Travail seem to be happy up there, and content to be left in peace to follow the work of reconstruction which they have started. This year in the Assembly the question was raised of buying some headquarters for the Bureau Internationale de Travail, but finally it was decided to let the matter rest, and the laborites will use for another year the old pensionette on the outskirts of Geneva—quite a distance from the centre of the city, almost "over there"—notwithstanding the difficulties of communication. But neither of these two buildings, Le Bureau Internationale de Travail or the "Palace" Hotel of the League of Nations, is really large enough to accommodate the meetings of the Assemblies in full. A hall built by the City of Geneva long ago for public ceremonies is used for this purpose. It is called the Hall of the Reformation, a very Calvinistic building—bare walls, no paintings of any kind in the hall, no pictures at all, no portraits of any king or leader or saint—nothing but the grey light that comes from the ceiling. None of those pale golden candlesticks, red cushions, emblems and other paraphernalia of the parliaments of to-day. But (what is more than a pity) neither is there any motto that will suggest a doctrine and a faith–a big "E Pluribus Unum" or "One for all: all for one." This is what every spiritual man will miss in that Hall of Reformation. The League of Nations is waiting for a breeze from heaven or some writing on the wall.

There on a little platform is the President of the Assembly and the Secretaries, and little chairs for the speaker and the interpreters, because every speech is translated in a very loud voice by the various young men who act as interpreters. They are the murderers of the whole business, because every speech is repeated in French if given in English or in English if given in French. This takes the life out of the audience, and when the interpreters begin to translate it is always a sign for certain people to leave the hall. We think that several languages should be accepted in an international assembly of that kind, as in the Parliaments of Ottawa and Berne; but the interpreters should be set aside, and transla-

The editors regret the delay in the issuing of this number. The next number will be published in June and the next in August as usual.

tions should be reserved for the printed matter only, which would save a lot of time and would not try the patience of the assembly.

The Delegates:

They sit on benches (one bench, consisting of four seats, for each nation) and are arranged in alphabetical order. Afrique du Sud, or, as we say, South Africa, is the first, then Albania, and so forth. The delegates are rather homogeneous at the first glance, excepting the Indian princes, who insist on wearing their turbans and gaily coloured clothing, but the others are all clad in that mourning dress that we call "European style," but by looking closely the different shades of the faces can be discerned. China is represented by four Celestials, but three of the four are thrown into shadow by the imposing appearance of their leader, the famous Wellington Koo, whom the writer met ten or twelve years ago. At that time he was gathering matter for his doctorate book, "A Project of International Law." To-day Wellington Koo is the greatest trump of China, Ambassador in London, a real authority in the world; his name is a boon to China every day, and in Geneva he is one of the men of the assembly.

Not far distant are the Japanese—four different types. One is a very thin, bald man, still young, with a scanty beard, which he combs languidly with his tapering fingers. Next to him is a stout, husky fellow. The other two are young, ascetic-looking secretaries, with thick hair plastered close to the head. The Japanese diplomats scarcely speak or smile amongst themselves. In the great moments of the assembly they simply glance at each other with expressions that mean more than a long conversation. It is remarkable that, although the Japanese were apparently taking very little part in the discussions of the assembly, they had in Geneva besides the four official delegates the largest group of experts and helpers. One will notice on the streets of Geneva that almost every other person is a Japanese during the days of the assembly. It was necessary for the writer to meet one of these Japanese experts on the project for the organization of international intellectual work. I made a fool of myself by starting to speak plainly and clearly what I thought. The Japan-

ese answered in such a way that I could see that he was not sincere in his statements, but under cover of his words I could not penetrate to his true opinion. I tried to force him to open his mind to me, but without avail. At the end I grew tired, and finished by saying to him as follows: "Were we old friends, I think I could understand what you mean. Were we of the same race I could understand you, too; but you being a Japanese and a new acquaintance, it is too much, and I give it up."

The Prayer of the Albanians:

The first sessions of the assembly were rather monotonous. Precious time was lost in comments of the delegates in the old parliamentary fashion. The "Speech from the Throne" in the Geneva Assembly was the report of the Secretary on the work done by the League of Nations during last year. The speeches were rather courteous and formal, but one day the Serbian delegate (we should call him the Jugo-Slav now), intentionally or not, broke all the crockery. He was a rather good-looking man. We will not insist on writing down his name with its many v's and z's, but, anyhow, he was a tall, well-dressed fellow, of a certain international reputation. His French was awful. A few of his words became a joke as they were pronounced and repeated comically for days and days by the Geneva Assembly. After finding several faults with the Secretary's report, he criticized the acceptance of Albania by the League of Nations as a silly move, because the Albanians will never be able to produce a presentable government; moreover, their boundaries are unsettled, and such people do not deserve to be treated as partners in the League of Nations. Everybody was surprised at the bold manner and words of the Serbian. Everybody was looking at the Albanians and the Albanians were looking at each other. They were sitting on one of the front benches, and they were very visible people. One of them was a short, stout man with an enormous quantity of hair on his face—such a beard as only an Albanian, I suppose, can afford to cultivate—and having also, of course, an abundance of smallpox marks, as a genuine Albanian should have. The other one (there were only two) was a spare, nervous man, with that colour which dis-

tinguishes forever men subject to chronic malaria. Both were astounded at the declaration of the Serbian delegate, and apparently expected that he was going to insult them to their faces. The Albanian bearded delegate made a move to speak, but stopped on seeing Balfour rise abruptly from his seat. Balfour started to speak of a different thing altogether—namely, the work of the Secretaries, and filled a quarter of an hour with a flowery speech, after which he said it was unwise to discuss further the acceptance of Albania in the League of Nations; that the matter had been closed last year with the approval of the Assembly, and there was nothing to be gained by stirring up bad feeling. The meeting finished without any further speeches, but one or two days later the black-bearded Albanian had a chance and spoke more or less as follows: That Albania was there by her own right; that many peoples started with less right than Albania; that they entered by the main entrance, not by the back door, and they were asking nothing, but to be left alone, and that for the future they were trusting not in man, but in God. All this was said in the most wonderful English. Apparently, this poor Albanian had spent years and years in that everlasting shelter of political refugees—old, foggy London. The Albanian was very brief and the Assembly was in suspense all the time, and matters reached a climax when, after a few more words of faith in his country, the Albanian closed his eyes, clasped his hands and, in the presence of the whole of that political Assembly, began to recite the Lord's Prayer, the first words in English and the rest in Albanian. From this moment Albania was no longer a second-class nation. The Albanian delegate, with his long, abundant beard and pock-marked face, it transpired, was a more or less Orthodox Bishop, and was accepted as a colleague by all the leading men of the Assembly. The future of Albania was won that day. The Serbian delegate said nothing, but a few days after telegrams arrived stating that fighting had broken out on the Serbian border. The Greeks were also harassing the Albanians. The matter was again taken up by the Assembly, and it could plainly be seen that the League of Nations was in earnest in its endeavours to save Albania. Of course, the Serbian answered that they had not fired the first shot; that the attack was com-

menced by the Albanians; and naturally the Albanians protested against such a statement. Then the Serbians found another way to explain the business. Between them and the Albanians are some valleys where dwell certain tribes of the Serbian stock, who were ill-treated by the Albanians. Those tribes are called Mirdites. The Serbians went to their assistance. They were anxious to be independent. They were coming to ask the League of Nations to protect them, and eventually to give them a seat at the Assembly as a separate nation. It was the old story of "Divide and you shall win," which the Serbians were employing for this emergency. The Albanians again protested, and the Assembly dispersed before the trouble ended. It will last most likely for years, but if Albania has many men able to say the Lord's Prayer at the right moment in the face of the whole world, as the Bishop did at Geneva, the Serbians can whistle, but certainly will not win.

The Vilna Affair:

When the Assembly was in full swing a day and a half was spent in hearing the former President of the Assembly, a Belgian named Mr. Hymans, reporting on the Vilna question. Mr. Hymans is a brilliant speaker—more grammatical French could not be heard—and he has a personal magnetism that holds his audience. I doubt very much if he is a converted apostle, but he is one of those Liberal parliamentarians who have been up till now very useful in politics. He declared that he wanted to solve the question of Vilna, giving the people of that district every facility to express an opinion and decide for themselves whether they would be Polish or Lithuanian. Vilna and its districts, which are very wide, are populated by people of many races, and quite a number of Jews. A plebiscite as a basis of settlement certainly would not work. Moreover, the past history of the country had to be taken into consideration —but there further confusion arose. Poland said that Vilna was thoroughly Polish and such and such men were great Polish scholars, writers, etc., who came from Vilna. The Lithuanians, of course, said the same thing. "There is no doubt," they said, "that Vilna is Lithuanian, both in the past and in the present. The Russians recognized that when they made the treaties of peace with Germany and with Lithuania herself." Po-

land had not much to say to this, but a Polish general whom we will call D'Annunzio-wsky, following the example of D'Annunzio of Fiume, went to Vilna and occupied the place without the consent of his Government, and he is still there now. Mr. Hymans told the Assembly how he had spent a full year and made many trips, and called together at Geneva and elsewhere several times representatives of Poland and Lithuania, and proposed several schemes to make Vilna a kind of independent Canton subject to the sovereignity of Lithuania —a very good scheme indeed, because if Lithuania is going to succeed as a nation she certainly will grab Vilna sooner or later, and if she does not succeed that Canton could easily be taken by Poland. Of course, Mr. Hymans did not mention that idea, but it was very plain that this was what was meant by the Hymans Canton proposal. The Assembly was greatly impressed by the long speech of Mr. Hymans He had the ability to make the thing interesting; he was presenting the human part of the affair—his own personal troubles—he tried to induce those two newly-born nations to agree over this little matter.[1] Of course, after the long speech of Mr. Hymans the Assembly thanked him warmly, and sympathized with him, although his efforts had not met with much success. Lord Robert Cecil spoke again and advised the rebels to compromise matters amongst themselves. Then the head of the French delegation, Leon Bourgeois, a stout man rather shabbily dressed, but making the most of his venerable appearance, gave a little fatherly advice to the Poles, told the Lithuanians to be better still, told them jointly and severally not to disturb the whole world any longer, gave a lot of advice in a subdued voice, and in a very ingenious sentence finished by urging them to do their bit in the cause of peace and civilization. None of the great words of freedom and glory in the past and in the future were omitted by Mr. Bourgeois. One

[1]He said, amongst other things, one thing that passed unnoticed, but was astonishing in itself and gave an idea how unsettled are some of the important questions in Europe. It was that the League of Nations still controls the Port of Memel in the Baltic Sea, and they could give it to Lithuania if she behaved herself. Memel is one of the largest ports in the Baltic, open all the year round, and capable of handling very great traffic, and it is still undecided whether such a place is going to be red or white or black or green!

realized on hearing him that he should have been one of the big guns of some of those Progressive parties that were in evidence in Europe a few years ago, but to-day those big guns no longer impress the enemy. Polish and Lithuanians were seemingly unmoved by his eloquence. They accumulated reason upon reason to defend their rights to this little bit of war-torn Europe. It is amazing to see these new-born nations, which have endured centuries of suffering through Russian depotism or German administration, taking advantage of their late-acquired freedom to wrangle amongst themselves instead of bringing to the old nations of Europe the contribution of younger ideas and sentiments. In all that Vilna affair the Liberals, the Progressives, the generous were still men of the old type such as Bourgeois, Hymans and Lord Robert Cecil. The only thing that Poland could promise was to order General D'Annunzio-wsky to withdraw if most of his aims were satisfied, and Lithuania could promise nothing that amounted to a settlement. The positive fact is that D'Annunzio-wsky is still the boss of Vilna.

Mr. Motta or the Vaseline:

The Italian delegation formed a group of nice men. The head was the Marquis Imperiale, a real, olden time diplomat. It is enough to say that he was the only man in the Assembly who was still using a monocle, and letting it drop, in that manner peculiar to real monocle-wearers, when you least expect that cataclysm to happen. Of course, he was only the figure-head of the group. The others were an old acquaintance, Mr. Maggiorino Ferraris, the editor of the "Nuova Antologia," the greatest Italian Review, a very astute old man and a great friend of everybody. The next was the fighter Scialoja, who could bring in a little quotation from Aristotle in a speech referring to ways and means without exasperating the people. And the fourth was one of the men of New Italy, Senator Schanzer, who presided over the Italian delegation at the Washington Conference—still a young man and a very patient worker. He was the reporter of the Commission dealing with the matter of the sanctions. The question was a very important one, indeed, viz.: how the League was going to impose her authority upon the rebels against the Covenant. The matter

to-day stands like this: A group of nations (we will say forty nations in round numbers) agree to govern themselves according to certain principles which are represented by the League. The limit or character of those principles is still very vague, but nevertheless they are embodied in the covenant or charter of the League of Nations. Suppose one of the partners breaks the Covenant and injures one or other of the members of the League, how is the League going to act in this case? Senator Schanzer argued that the great arm of the League is her moral authority, and on that chiefly is based the hope of success, as she has no army or other means of enforcing her covenant. The discussion could be finished here because really everything else was simply a resume of speeches, and a waste of time. The Commission, through the mouth of the reporter, nevertheless suggested the old idea of a blockade of the rebel nation, and the cutting off of all economic relations with her by the other members of the League. This would certainly compel her to behave circumspectly. Naturally, that idea was discussed for a long time. First of all the efficacy of a blockade on the erring nation, if there were still a number of countries out of the League and some of them important ones —Germany or the United States, for instance. These countries would continue to trade with the blockaded nation and the effect of the action of the League would be practically nil. But, on the other hand, when a nation is entirely surrounded by other members of the League of Nations, a blockade would be effective. This was a matter for the consideration of the Assembly.

The opinion of Senator Schanzer was that blockade should be effective, and that governments should accept the decisions of the League of Nations, so that by this means the League of Nations would practically be in a position to compel countries to declare war on the rebel, which would be a certain restriction on the sovereignty of each nation. This matter was fought out in a very parliamentary manner by Mr. Motta, the ex-President of the Swiss Confederation, and one of the Swiss delegates to the League of Nations. He did not dare to face Senator Schanzer, and in parliamentary language he said "Yes" and "No," agreeing and disagreeing, attempting to perfect the measure with the excuse that he desired to se-

cure the rights of the innocent people who might happen to be in the rebel country, making distinctions between natives and residents; in fact, putting on a lot of vaseline for more than an hour and a half. He succeeded in rejecting the report of Schanzer and in compelling the Commission to reconsider the terms till the sharp edges of the report were gone and the sanctions of the League made of no effect. It was a great task that Mr. Motta had to perform—to make a valuable thing altogether valueless—and he succeeded in doing this several times in similar affairs of the Assembly, as, for instance, in the Russian Relief proposal, of which we shall speak later on. We wonder if there are many Mr. Mottas left in the Cabinets of the old Governments of Europe! There were many in the League of Nations, however.

A Drop in the Ocean.

The tragedy of the first session of the League of Nations in 1920 was the incapacity of the League to stop the massacre in Armenia. The problem of giving assistance to Armenia came before the Assembly in that year, with the result that, though a few million francs and a few hundred men could have saved the murdered nation, men and francs were not forthcoming, and Armenia to-day is a thing of the past. The League was fully aware this year of its failure to give Armenia any practical assistance. Therefore, it was with the most sincere regret that she received the report of conditions prevalent among the remaining Armenians, chiefly women and children. The report was presented by a Rumanian delegate, a young school teacher, rather a nice girl notwithstanding that she was a reporter. She was in a hurry to return to Rumania to resume her duties, and the Assembly advanced the discussion of the affair in order to enable her to leave Geneva without delay. The report placed before the Assembly conditions as they actually were, and certainly they were most tragic. Women and children, after the male population had been practically exterminated, were taken to the shelter of Turkish institutions, women eventually entering the harems. Children were placed in Turkish institutions and taught to forget their past and their own nation, finally to become Turks. The work of saving the remnants of this disappearing

nation was most difficult, because the Treaty of Sèvres had not been approved or signed by the rebel Turks. Nevertheless a group of philanthropic men and women in the Near East were already working at their own expense, and the Armenian Patriarch and American missionaries were buying those children and caring for them. The report of the Rumanian delegate was pronounced in very melodious French, and she earnestly begged the Assembly in God's Name to do something to help the Armenians. She came with a direct proposal. There was already in Constantinople an institution of an international character, directed by a certain Dr. Kennedy, which was doing its utmost for the Armenians. It was simply a question of appointing this institution, called the Neutral House, the Commissioner or official representative of the League of Nations at Constantinople, and also granting to the people who are already working there the small sum of £1500.0.0 sterling a year, which they claim will be sufficient to continue and extend the work. The Assembly applauded the speech of the fair delegate on several occasions, and carried five resolutions, which could be embodied in two. The first was to appoint the Neutral House at Constantinople a Commissioner for the League of Nations, and notify the Powers to that effect. It was the first step toward the League of Nations having a consular service of foreign representatives. The second was not to grant the £1500.0.0 sterling a year, but simply to invite France, Great Britain and Italy to give the required assistance to Dr. Kennedy and other workers in the field, but at the moment even that £1500.0.0 was not in sight! £1500.0.0 for a nation does not seem so much, nevertheless those little bits of paper with the characters of the Bank of England are still more precious than souls!

The High Tribunal.

Last year the Assembly decided to establish an International Tribunal, and approved the way in which judges should be elected, and the power and character of the Tribunal. This institution was to be approved first by the different Governments, and it was no easy task to get answers from some countries, so that it was very doubtful at the beginning of September whether the Tribunal could be appointed this

year. But the answers finally came with a rush, and about the 15th of September everything was ready for the election. The judges were to be chosen from a list that had been prepared by the Secretary and the Council. The list was composed of forty names, and from those were to be elected the eleven judges and the four assistants. The Tribunal is to sit at the Hague, and the stipend for each judge is to be 35,000 florins a year, which is a respectable sum. There was a good deal of subterranean work before the election, and the delegates were very anxious to have the proper persons appointed. At the first ballot it could easily be seen that the South American group were the winning party; two of them were elected, together with the Spanish Professor Altamira, who was also a South American candidate. The British tried to secure the votes of the Scandinavians in order to offset the South American and Balkan groups, but they were not successful, and the Scandinavians voted according to the merits of the candidates, as also did many of the other delegations. The result was that, apart from the two seats secured by the South Americans, the rest were really elected with great discretion. Of the eleven members of the Tribunal nine were Professors of International Law in important Universities, and their names should prove interesting. They are as follows: Azilotti, Professor of the University of Rome; Barloza, Professor of the University of Rio Janeiro; Huber, Professor of Zurich University; Moore, Professor of Columbia University; Oda, Professor of Tokyo University; Weis, of the Sorbonne; Negulesco, of the University of Bucharest; Altamira, of Madrid University; Bustamante, of Habana University.

The English Judge was Viscount Finlay, formerly member of Parliament for two Scottish Universities, and Lord Chancellor of England. Altogether the group of men, independent of politics, were scholars and of liberal tendencies—some of them, like Altamira and Bustamante, people that could not be bought with all the wealth in the world. The Tribunal should do good if it has any chance to work, but the misfortune is that it is not compulsory for the partners of the League of Nations to have all their questions arbitrated by such a Tribunal. What are the eleven good and true men going to do at the Hague if the partners of the League of

Nations do not bring the questions before them? We suppose they will have the chance to study and confer with one another and do some research work on the problems of International Law. The world, though, is crying for action, not for studies. It is to be hoped that very soon the eleven men of the Hague will be the high magistrates to judge, without appeal, the guilty nations.

The Wolf and the Lamb.

During one of the first days of September the delegate from Bolivia brought before the Assembly a question which for a long time looked as though it were going to be a very dangerous one. It was stated that between Bolivia and Chile there was a treaty that placed Bolivia in a very inferior position. Chile received by this treaty the control of the territories between Bolivia and the sea. In this way Bolivia was shut off and left in the hands of the Chilian railways carrying freight from Bolivia to the ports. That treaty was looked upon by Bolivia as an imposition. It was a twenty-five years' old affair, and to give an idea how reluctantly Bolivia accepted the terms, we may point out that she had waited fifteen years after the end of hostilities before signing the treaty. In one of the articles of the covenant of the League of Nations a door has apparently been opened to enable Bolivia to raise this question. Article 19 recites that "The Assembly may from time to time advise (or 'invite,' as it says in French) the reconsideration by the members of the League of Nations of treaties which have become inapplicable and whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." The Bolivian delegates spoke in a most tiresome way. Most likely they missed the tropical sun in that Calvinistic Hall of the Reformation. The Chilian delegation was headed by a very strong young Anglo-Spaniard called Señor Edwards, who refused from the first moment to consider the right of Bolivia to open this question, and said (though in better words) that if the League of Nations were to wash the soiled linen of the whole world they would never be finished; and he went the length of threatening to withdraw Chile from the League altogether, if they insisted upon discussing the Bolivian proposal. Of course, he pointed out that the treaty was not endangering the peace of

the world at all; that it was purely a local affair on which Bolivians and Chilians should be able to agree. Matters were referred to a Commission for report, and the report reached the Assembly fifteen days after, advising both parties to be kind, but in plain words refusing the Bolivian claim. It was a solemn moment when the sunburnt young diplomat of Bolivia spoke a few words in melancholy French. He reserved the right to return again to the League with the claim, but he did refuse on behalf of his country to deal with Chile alone. He declared that there should be a third party to act as arbitrator; he even went to the extreme of offering to accept the arbitration of the High Tribunal of Justice newly elected. Only on this basis could Bolivia procure some chance of having the whole matter righted. For Bolivia to deal directly with Chile without the intervention of a third party was for the lamb to bargain with the wolf, and the lamb would certainly be eaten up—it would be better to keep away from him. Then the wolf spoke. The tall, healthy, strong Creole, Señor Edwards, finished the argument with a few touches on the desire for brotherhood and the sentiments of justice which no doubt were characteristic of his country, and declared that as a neighbour Bolivia could be sure of receiving right treatment. All that post-war vocabulary, you know, of right and freedom and liberty!

The Negro of the League:

He was not a waiter or a messenger boy, but a real gentleman and one of the delegates to the Assembly. He was Mr. Bellegarde of Haïti. The intervention of this man in the debates created one of those sensations that will never be forgotten. The Assembly had been hearing Nansen, who was the reporter on the question of the mandates—a *gravissima* question—as the reader will see for himself. After the war, large shreds of continents which belonged to the defeated nations were handed to the conquerors to be administered under the supervision of the League of Nations, in that new form of rule (which is not a Protectorate) which we call a Mandate. The mandatory nations are in possession of those former colonies and territories of the defeated Empires, and they have

been delaying to report to the League about them and to lay before the League a definite scheme by which such territories should be governed until they are fully grown nations and able to manage themselves. Nansen read the report of the Commission in a manner which showed that he was displeased with the whole affair, and that he wanted stronger action on the part of the League. He said: "I have myself been in the minority when the report was discussed by the Commission. Some of us wanted something more definite regarding a number of points. But," he said, "I will not speak any longer on the subject—I will leave other people to take it up." The first speaker was a lady delegate from Sweden, who insisted that the report was as mild as it could be made, and requested that the mandatory nations should bring to the League the general terms of the draft mandates without further delay. Then Lord Robert Cecil spoke at greater length, and related to the Assembly a little scrap which took place between himself and the delegate from the British Government,Mr. H. A. L. Fisher. Lord Robert Cecil asked Mr. Fisher if the Commission of the Mandates could at least see the projects of the mandates. Mr. Fisher tried to evade this question; but, finally, being again pressed by Lord Robert Cecil, he admitted that, from a legal point of view, he did not believe that there was any obligation binding the Powers provisionally entrusted with the mandates to submit their administration before such mandates had been confirmed. Notwithstanding this, in order to avoid trouble, he was willing to give to the Commission all the information he could. The delegate from France accepted Mr. Fisher's view with the same reservations, and the Belgian delegate concurred. This discussion, as stated before, happened at a meeting of the Commission, and such was the importance of the statements that Lord Robert Cecil mentioned them in his speech at the Assembly. This will give the reader a fairly good impression of the spirit of the victorious nations that are now administering the large territories of the defeated Empres. They were willing to exhibit the mandates, but very reluctantly, and apparently felt that they were not compelled to do so. This is why Lord Robert Cecil and Nansen were so angry about this matter. Lord Robert Cecil claimed

that he had the first right to speak because he was representing the Union of South Africa, which, in the Peace Conference at Paris, had first advocated the adoption of the mandate system. He said: "It is largely due to the advocacy of General Smuts that the mandate system was accepted, and it is a great step forward, a great milestone on the road to Peace. . . . . There shall be no attempt to shut the doors against free and full commercial intercourse of all the Members of the League, and I hope," he continued, "it will be the rule of all future international operations, that in countries of this description there shall be no annexation by conquest." Amid loud applause, Lord Robert Cecil declared: "From now on territories acquired by a conquering Power will have to be held in trust for the native populations and for the other peoples of the world." "National greed is only second to national suspicion and national hatred as a cause of war!" earnestly asserted the British statesman. One can imagine the loud and prolonged applause that followed this speech. After Lord Robert Cecil's prophetic words, Mr. Leon Bourgeois tried his utmost to convince the Assembly that everything would turn out for the best: it was not a question over which to get excited; the great Mandatory Powers were certainly working for the good of the native populations, and so forth. . . Two more people then spoke before the negro above mentioned. One was Sir James Allen from New Zealand, who said that from his experience with the mandate for Western Samoa, things could not be left any longer in their present unsettled state. There was the great question, for instance, of the liquor trade (in New Zealand they had also had much trouble with Prohibition and Bootlegging), and as matters now stand in those mandate countries, the natives are forbidden to drink by the white men who enjoy cocktails at full speed. Mr. Andrade of Portugal presented another side of the question, namely, the private ownership of the land. Natives have often been made to give up land which they themselves have cultivated and developed, and have been made to live in other places called reservations under conditions of overcrowding, without being compensated for their disturbance and removal.

We think that the reader who has had the patience to fol-

low the resumé of these speeches, which lasted for over two hours in that grey atmosphere of the Hall of Reformation at Geneva, will have gathered that matters are still in a bad state in those dominions that have been taken from Germany and Turkey with the excuse that they were not fit to administer them in accordance with the new principles of morals and justice.

The negro—the real negro—then came to the fore. He was a well-dressed gentleman of undefinable age, by unanimous opinion speaking the best French that had yet been heard at the Assembly. His sentences were full of meaning and with a spark of light to each word. Every paragraph was greeted with applause. Here we find the same sentiments as those of Lord Robert Cecil. He said: "In the past, the colonies have been regarded as a source of revenue, and the natives as capital that should give the greatest possible interest. But when highly developed nations have established themselves in new territories, they should consider it as a duty and as an honour to educate the population, stimulate its intelligence, and arouse it to a consciousness of its duty and of the dignity of the human race. The system of the mandate populations will no longer be exploited, and the administration of these territories will henceforth be under the supervision of the League of Nations; that the administering Powers will act on behalf of the League and not for their own exclusive profit. In a word, they will regard their administration as a stewardship."

Those were the words of Mr. Bellegarde, the negro of Haïti, and he dwelt on the same idea eloquently for a time. "I wish to say further," he added, "in the name of all the coloured races and particularly of the black race to which I belong, that they have confidence in the League of Nations, and at the Congress of the negro race held recently in Paris and London, they asked me to make a request to the League, and that is that in the Commission of the Mandates there should be a representative of the native races. You will agree with me that we can find a native of those territories who has arrived by his merits and experience and education at a point where he is qualified to sit in such a body."

Those words of the negro at the Assembly make us realize what vast countries we have forgotten—fascinating lands where other races are established, with souls and feelings similar to our own. The world is small enough and we make it still smaller by thinking that we are here alone, a few white men, that we can read and write and speak for all humanity.

Forward Nansen!

Nansen, the Professor and Explorer, as we have seen, was the President and Vice-President of several Commissions. He was encountering more difficulty there than in the Arctic mists or the lonely plains of Siberia, but his greatest trouble was with the Russian Relief Work. Nansen is no longer the young man he was when he set out to cross the fields of ice of the North Pole along with his lieutenant. He is no longer the man shown in the photograph in his book of Siberian Explorations, but he is still the strongest and most robust man at the Assembly—a very tall, bald-headed man of exceptionally muscular build. His most noticeable features are the eyes, which always appear to be fixed on something in the distance, as if he were looking North in those misty regions which he penetrated for the first time. He has two very pronounced wrinkles, one on each side of the mouth, which most likely have been caused by the contraction of the muscles of the face in the strain of his efforts to go forward. At the Assembly Nansen spoke mostly in French, but used English occasionally. As we have said, his great trouble was the one connected with the Russian Relief. When the first news of the Russian disaster reached Western Europe, Nansen was asked by the Red Cross (by wire) to go to Russia and report. Nansen left everything, hurried to Russia, and returned with two ideas—first, the necessity of helping to alleviate the suffering caused by the famine, secondly, that the Soviet Government in this particular instance should be trusted; and he assured the Western people that the trains bearing foodstuffs would reach the distressed provinces, if they could be sent at the proper time.

This was Nansen's obsession—time! time!—the time was getting too short! If the relief could not arrive in Russia

before the rivers froze, with the disorganized transportation there, the foodstuffs would scarcely reach the Volga regions in time. This is why he urged the League of Nations to pass a resolution asking the different Governments to send help without delay. He could not wait for a meeting of a Commission of Russian Relief that was suggested to him for the beginning of October in Paris. "We had a Committee," he said, "that appointed a Commission. Now that Commission will appoint a Sub-Committee, and the Sub-Committee will appoint a Reporter. We cannot play in this way while millions of people starve. We want help right away before the cold weather makes communication impossible." The exclamations of Nansen were sometimes rather heated, and were thus more impressive because Nansen to-day has the greatest reputation in Europe as an organizer of genius and a practical man. It is notorious that in his work of repatriating prisoners from Russia he did wonders. With £350,000 sterling (I say with three hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling) he returned to their homes over 400,000 men. Imagine four hundred thousand fathers and sons returned to their wives and mothers! It was rather difficult for the League of Nations to deny to Nansen the moral support that was the only thing for which he was asking. Nevertheless he was defeated on the Commission. Mr. Motta and his associates found that that was not the field for the League of Nations; that Nansen went to Russia at the request of the Red Cross, and the Red Cross should, therefore, attend to this business. Apparently, there was some material difficulty in connexion with the Red Cross, or, rather, Nansen wanted the League of Nations to patronize his philanthropic scheme. After a long discussion, the matter was put to a vote of the Commission, and everybody voted against it except Nansen himself and Lord Robert Cecil. Lord Robert knows when it is more honourable to lose than to win, and was not ashamed to be Nansen's only supporter. Nansen, however, did not give up. The report rejected by the Commission was discussed again by the full Assembly, and Nansen again defended his proposals in a long speech. The arguments were the same. It does not matter what the arguments were as long as they were right and true.

"The rivers will be frozen; we cannot wait any longer! Humanity will hold you responsible for the sacrifice of those millions of lives! The Soviets can be trusted—I will vouch for them!"

There in the Assembly Nansen was defeated too, but yet he did not give up. He went with Mr. Fricks, the Vice-President of the Red Cross, over to Paris, and used his old arguments there again. Now there is no longer a chance to reach the sufferers by water. The rivers will be frozen! However, Nansen will find a way to cross the ice. It is an even more perilous journey than penetrating the Northern mists. The hearts of these hardened men are even more impassable than the lonely ice-fields.

Lord Robert Cecil, Africanus.

It was whispered in the first days of the Assembly that Lloyd George was willing to appoint Lord Robert Cecil as one of the British delegates to the League of Nations, but General Smuts forestalled him, and Lord Robert Cecil came as head of the African Delegation. He acted during the Assembly in a most African manner, fighting very often with the British delegates, and more particularly with Mr. Fisher. The head of the British Delegation was Balfour, who performed his duties at all times with that tact which has distinguished his whole career—perhaps with too much tact and circumspection. All the blows descended on the head of poor Mr. Fisher, who was the spokesman for what he called "my Government." Mr. Fisher is a thin, fair, stiff Englishman, dressed in the regulation blue serge, with arms held closely to his sides when he speaks, leaving one in doubt whether the man is built of wood or flesh! He was quite a contrast to the tall, strong form of the African delegate. Lord Robert Cecil has a massive frame. He has a habit of stooping slightly, which reduces his height somewhat, but he cannot reduce his legs in this way, and these look too long for his body. When he is listening to a speech, his eyes sometimes gaze far away in that absent-minded manner peculiar to the aristocracy; but suddenly he looks fixedly at the speaker, and one would imagine that he is going to interrupt, such is the

force of feeling which sometimes shakes his whole body. In the Commissions he took the leading part, always on the progressive or idealist side. There are not now in the League of Nations Parties such as Liberals and Tories, but two different classes of men can easily be distinguished—the idealistic, who have faith in the institution, and the Agents of the Governments, who are simply assisting there as in duty bound. Around Lord Robert Cecil were gathered all the idealistic people who still believe in the League of Nations. He was not leading them, but they believed in him. He acted on his own initiative all the time, and fought alone in most cases. His opponents were terrible people, wise enough to spoil everything, using chiefly the weapons of Delay and Technicalities. It was curious to see Lord Robert Cecil act in the midst of those people. One day he made a proposal to the Commission on Armaments to ask the different Governments for a statement of the quantities of guns and ammunition manufactured in the different countries, and also a report on the quantity of arms required by each of those countries. This, of course, was the first step towards the abolition of contraband arms and the trade in ammunition. He presented his proposal with a long speech, and the matter was taken up not only by Mr. Fisher on behalf of "My Government," but also by the Agent of the French Government, a certain Mr. Reynald, what we should call a thorough man, and Mr. Motta and two or three more delegates. Each speech was repeated by the interpreter. This means that before Lord Robert Cecil had a chance to speak again, five speeches and five translations were delivered to try the patience of the African delegate. He was so excited that he forgot the rules of the Assembly, and after each of those ten speeches, he arose irritably to his full height, but was compelled to resume his seat by the admonition of the President, reminding him that the interpreter had the floor. He could not endure the silly arguments of the Agents of "My Government," and finally decided not to waste any more time, and began writing some letters. Of course when he got a chance to speak again the afternoon was far advanced, and it was already getting dark. He looked again at the faces of the

five Carthaginian Agents, and with a Scipionic calm he spoke a few words in a way that meant, "You can enjoy your easy victory to-day, but my innings is yet to come!"

FAREWELL.

I have tried to give a fair idea of the work of delegates of the Assembly of Geneva last September. Somebody may object—they did not do much; others will say they did so little, and will recollect the *agreement* on the white slave trade, the *discussions* on the opium business, etc. etc. I might be blamed for not mentioning the beneficial intervention of the Council in the Aaland Islands dispute, the Upper Silesia judgement, and the delay made by the Hymans proposals in the Vilna affair, avoiding war up to the present. In fact, we may be told that through the intervention of the League the world has been already spared two or three score of wars.

So the League of Nations is not a failure. It is not a dream, as General Diaz said on his arrival in New York, heading for Washington. The League of Nations to-day is still a *chance,* as we say in America, perhaps the only *chance we have* of the creation of a New World. But—who wants a New World? Certainly not the old Governments who appoint the delegates of the Assembly and the members of the Council. The most the Governments will ask of the League of Nations is to keep the Old World as a going concern, to put a few patches on it, in the hope that the old frame will stand up; and certainly in this sense the League of Nations becomes a delusion. If in 1917 we were told that the greatest aspiration, the supreme hope of 1921 was to restore things to the state of the pre-war days, we could not have believed. We were asking then: "What will happen after the war?" "After these horrors we must expect a better world! This slaughter must be the last!" A New World after the war was almost an axiom.

But, apparently, what the people meant by a New World was the same old one with the difference that the returned soldiers would perhaps form an immense Sunday School and eventually become deacons in some denomination! And as soon as the last shot was fired in Flanders, the old parties all

over the World began to believe that things would be righted again and the World still kept on the basis of 1914.

This is why, when they created this Constituent Assembly of the League of Nations, they gave no sovereign powers at all. During the meetings of the Assembly at Geneva, the greatest care of the representatives of the different Governments was to avoid carrying any motion that could reduce the full sovereignty of the different countries there congregated. They were most afraid to see the old Nations give up any right and delegate it to the League. It was the horror of horrors, the danger of a super-state; at every step they feared to find a trap and to become enmeshed in an international brotherhood with international power. Oh, the super-state! The hateful superstate; as often as this word was pronounced the delegates of the Assembly made the sign of the Devil.

They were on the whole enormously pleased at finding a word to qualify the League and to explain their mission. She was to be not a superstate—don't mention it—but an interstate organization. This was the word, and what a relief this pleasant word is. An interstate! As if any interstate organization could work without a delegation of powers of the interested states. As if, now, the Nations had not surrendered already any number of rights—in postal services and other things for the mutual benefit of all the Nations in war and in peace! But very often the people—and the *great people* more than the common people—are satisfied with a word that means nothing but sounds all right!

This is the great trouble with the League of Nations:—She was created by unconverted people and she is kept going by half converted ones. The Governments at Paris accepted the idea of Wilson as an imposition and as the only way to get rid of him—perhaps, also, to satisfy a little the claim of the multitudes who believed that *something was to be done!*

But on the whole the covenant of the League was a very small concession. The Assembly is only an Advisory Body, with a short meeting every year. The delegates are not appointed by the people or the parliaments, but by the Governments. The Governments, too, appoint the members of the Council, who are working independently of the Assembly, without any control or vote on her part.

It is evident that no great spiritual blaze can be expected of such a body. In all former changes of the organization of the world, the process seems to have passed through three different stages. First is a period of the unconscious feeling of the masses, realizing that *something has got to be done,* and that old conditions cannot be endured any more. This is the time of the forerunners, the baptists, the heretics, the bolsheviks, the rebels, bursting out often in extravagant doctrines.

They are persecuted, and the world is in suspense for a little while, until we come to the second stage, when that feeling is expressed by a man of genius, and the doctrine enunciated in a new rule, formula or gospel. The combination of intellect and sentiment is irresistible—the old rules collapse, or try to compromise to avert total extinction.

Gradually, the new ideals materialize and the leaders of the movement realize that it is necessary to teach the people and find support from the masses in order to prevent reaction. This is the third stage—the time of preaching, when the lay organizations, the minorites, the third orders appear.

We can see those three stages more or less in all the great changes of the world; sometimes interlocking or postponing them for a little while. But the three seem to be necessary! Almost logically necessary! No intellectual doctrine can appear without a layer of sentiment, no organization based on a new doctrine can stand without a majority of believers thoroughly converted.

At what stage does the League of Nations stand to-day? We have there a Constituent Assembly without Girondins—a first chapter of the Franciscan Order with the delegates appointed by the Cardinals. Evidently we cannot ask of the League of Nations anything more than she is doing. It is a miracle that she lasts s olong. But there is a chance, the chance of a popular movement in every country for the League of Nations (or *a* League of Nations), the chance of increasing the minority of believers at the Geneva meetings, the chance of the Governments surrendering to the League some of the rights of the States—the rights to do harm to other peoples, and to themselves.

King John signed reluctantly also at Runnymede, and it was for the best after all, for his people and for the Crown!

J. PIJOAN.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER

The Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, by Oscar Douglas Skelton: The Oxford University Press, Toronto; 2 vols., $8.00 net.

Great men, it has been said, condemn the world to the task of understanding them. In the case of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that task has fallen to the lot of a student ideally qualified for it by general training, by temperament, and by profound familiarity with the political world in which his hero lived and moved. Professor Skelton's former essays and books in *Canada and Its Provinces, The Chronicles of Canada, The Makers of Canada,* and *The Chronicles of America,* as well as his wide training in Economics and Political Science and his long experience as a teacher have abundantly prepared him for this, the largest and most significant work of his literary career. Readers who are already familiar, through their acquaintance with his former works, with his distinctive qualities as an historical writer—his objectivity, his conscientious thoroughness, his psychological insight into human motive and personality, his detachment from the partisan enthusiasms of life, his natural interest in the more philosophical aspect of politics—will find all these qualities, developed and matured, in this latest work.

Not only has Sir Wilfrid Laurier been fortunate in his official biographer, but the biographer has been fortunate in his hero. Every man sees what he takes with him the eye to see, and Professor Skelton is no exception to the rule. No writer, be he as objective as he may, ever escapes his own temperament nor can he do complete justice to a hero for whose motives, mental processes, and ideals he has no key in his own mental experience. Had Professor Skelton's theme been Lloyd-George or Theodore Roosevelt or Arthur Balfour or any other intuitive or subtle genius in the realm of politics, it is conceivable that his book would have been less than a striking success, but his natural sympathy for the character, principles and political programme of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is so great

that he writes about him with an insight, an understanding, and a controlled enthusiasm that make the reader feel, when he lays the book down, that he has had a glimpse into the central core of a great personality, and a genuine psychological account of the motives that lay behind his public deeds and policies.

In one literary respect, at least, Professor Skelton's new work marks an advance over his earlier works. Although his style lacks somewhat the colour, vividness and rush of movement which a more poetical and dramatic temperament would have given it, his literary workmanship has always been praiseworthy. He is always clear; he is always sparing of words, although he has a large vocabulary at his disposal; his arrangement of his material is always logical and systematic; he has a cynical, biting way of disposing of the shams and hypocrisies of life which is very satisfying to those who share his point of view; he never goes beyond his depth, or flounders in morasses of philosophical speculation or tears a passion to tatters. Always he is restrained, sure of his ground, and easily equal to the full clear utterance of his thought. The one literary device to which exception may be taken is his trick of overloading his sentences, now and then, with qualifying clauses. By means of these qualifying clauses he jams into a single sentence half a dozen statements which might well have been distributed among two or three sentences. By this device he aims, no doubt, to gain concentration of style; but to one reader at least it seems to interfere with the natural rhythm of attention and to tax the mind unduly and unnecessarily. Fortunately this device seems to be used less frequently in the present work than in earlier ones, and there are passages in it, such as his account of Israel Tarte, where one is reminded of the swift, easy, exhilarating movement of Strachey's "Queen Victoria."

In writing about the life and letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier Professor Skelton had his choice of at least two methods. He might have taken for granted a large knowledge on the part of his readers of the social and religious background and the political environment of his hero's life and concentrated himself on the vivid presentation of his personality by means of

anecdotes, letters, personal opinions, private gossip, etc. This is the method of Strachey's "Queen Victoria," and the colossal popularity of that book shows how successful such a method of biography may be in the hands of a skilful writer. Professor Skelton has not chosen this method. He has made his biography of Sir Wilfrid a genuine history of the times in which he lived and of the movements in which he took a conspicuous part. By choosing this method he has increased the length of the book and, here and there, slowed up its *tempo* for those who are interested only in the dramatic and personal aspects of biography. But there can be no doubt in the mind of the student that Professor Skelton has chosen the method which best suited his own mental powers and the method which will make his work of most lasting value. A work of more than one thousand pages may seem formidable to readers who would not shrink from a chatty biography of three or four hundred pages, but Professor Skelton has not had such readers in mind. He writes for those who are interested in movements as well as in personalities and who have the patience to follow a painstaking analysis and a methodical presentation of all the facts and forces involved in the significant political controversies and struggles of a half-century of Canadian history. Of course he has not written of matters in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier had no place, that is, he confines himself to Federal politics and introduces Provincial matters only so far as they explain the Federal situation or Sir Wilfrid's policies and problems; but every Federal issue of general interest which has arisen in Canada since Confederation is treated with a thoroughness which makes the work a real history of Canada for the last fifty years as well as a biography of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Professor Skelton has increased materially the historical value of his work by scattering through it a series of skilfully executed pen-portraits. While Sir Wilfrid Laurier is the hero of the play, all the other important players on the Ottawa political stage for the last fifty years appear for a larger or shorter time in their proper rôles. Many Canadians of the younger generation who have only heard the names or seen the portraits or photographs of the political heroes of Canada

will be grateful to the author for the careful and luminous descriptions and estimates of many of them which he scatters through his pages. Papineau, George Brown, Alexander MacKenzie, Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Oliver Mowat, Edward Blake, Antoine Dorion, David Mills, D'Alton McCarthy, Sir John Thompson, Israel Tarte and many other political leaders (along with the comments of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on many of them) are presented in such a way that the younger reader will carry away some genuine idea of what they stood for and what sort of men they were. Although these sketches and characterizations are only incidentals in the main plan of the work, they are done with such care and skill and justice that they add materially to the value of the work as a whole.

But Professor Skelton's work is more than a history of Canada since Confederation and a gallery of portraits of the political heroes of the period. It is a picture of modern Canada, set, as it were, in a framework of older Canada and the world. Most people when they look, let us say, at a tree, see only the leaves, the branches and the trunk. Men of Professor Skelton's habit of mind sees the roots of the tree underground as clearly as they see what is over the ground. Hence in dealing with the life and career of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, our author is led far back into Canadian history and out towards the larger world beyond. His sketch of the genealogy of his hero, for example, leads him back to the settling of Quebec by the French, the planting of the various Catholic missions, the British conquest of 1760 and the attempts at Anglicizing Quebec which immediately followed it. In picturing the political scene upon which young Laurier entered in 1866, he describes briefly but interestingly the struggle for responsible government in Upper and Lower Canada, the rise of the Rouge party in Quebec and the conflict of races in the Union period. In order to make clear the significance of Laurier's first great speech on "Political Liberalism" in 1877, he sketches for us the ultramontane movement in the Roman Catholic church of Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the evolution of that movement in Quebec after the British conquest and the bitter fight which its heroes waged against every person, organization and publication of a liberal nature in the

country. In writing of the first Colonial Conference in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was one of the dominant figures, he reviews for his readers the evolution of "The New Imperialism" in Europe and Great Britain. Commercial, economic and boundary topics lead him to discuss Canada's relations with her Southern neighbour. The Great War in which Canada played so conspicuous a part from the very first lifts the story on to the world-stage and shows us Canada arrived at self-conscious Nationality and recognized by the world as a sister nation.

Within this large framework, many events of a more local nature have to be sketched in—the story of the various administrations and parliaments, the story of the Riel rebellion and the racial animosities that followed it, the story of the building of the C..P.R., the story of the Manitoba School question and the educational provisions in the bill creating the new Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, the story of the reciprocity election, the story of the Nationalist movement in Quebec, and many others. All in all, the picture is a very large and a very full one. To the sketching of it, there must have gone years of research in the vast literature of the topic, much careful sifting of the evidence, weighing of conflicting views and balancing of judgement as well as long meditation on the composition and symmetry of the whole picture.

And yet, though the picture is so large and contains so many details, the central figure is never lost sight of for very long. His ancestry, his home and school life at St. Lin and New Glasgow, his college training at L'Assomption, his three years in the Law School of McGill University, his marriage and early life in Arthabaska, his cultural interests and youthful friendships are all interestingly described and made vivid by appropriate and, in some instances at least, hitherto unfamiliar photographs. Summaries of speeches, quotations from speeches, letters, conversations and interviews, descriptions of his relations with his colleagues and friends, as well as brief characterizations by the author and others, scattered here and there through the book, are the means by which Dr. Skelton helps us to realize the kind of man Sir Wilfrid was, the sort of impression he made on those who knew him best,

the quality of his mind and the motives that lay behind his political policies and activities. Some readers may wish that more letters had been used and that the anecdotal element had been made more prominent in the biography, but, however that may be, Professor Skelton has provided us with ample material for a sound judgement on the character, the motives, the career and the achievements of the most outstanding Canadian statesman of the last thirty years and one of the great recent political figures of the world.

What manner of man, then, was this Canadian hero? To begin with his limitations, it will be acknowledged by his warmest admirers, unless their hero-worship makes them quite incapable of critical judgement, that Sir Wilfrid had not a profound or original or subtle intellect. As his biographer acknowledges, "he was not deeply or vitally interested in more than a few questions." One searches his biography in vain for evidence of any interest in science such as the late Lord Salisbury manifested, or any interest in speculative philosophy such as Lord Haldane and Arthur Balfour are famous for, or any psychological interest in religion such as gives to the books of his fellow-Roman Catholic, Baron von Hügel, so great a value and charm. On all matters of this kind Sir Wilfrid held the simple, traditional, conventional convictions which he had received from the priests who trained him. Some critics have said, in the hearing of the present writer, that his Roman Catholicism was only a religious mask worn for political purposes; but his letters and actions show the utter falsehood of such a judgement. In spite of his long struggle against the political activity of the ultramontane party in Quebec, he remained all through his life what is called a simple believer in the Christianity he had learned in his youth from his parish priest and his teachers at L'Assomption. His Roman Catholicism was always consistent with a very sincere respect for the religion of his Protestant neighbours, but not a word in the biography indicates that his mind was ever profoundly stirred by the metaphysical impulse or disturbed by the modernist movement which has brought so much tragedy into the lives of men and women of speculative power in the Roman Catholic fold. He had a sort of philosophical calm

and poise, but it was not due to any profound meditation on human destiny or any lofty speculative idealism such as was the support of Lord Haldane during the years of the war, when he suffered so much undeserved obloquy at the hands of his political and military enemies.

Nor does Sir Wilfrid seem to have had any vital interest in political and economic speculation. That vast upheaval of the popular mind on these topics which has taken in Europe and America so many forms and names during the last fifty years—Socialism, Anarchism, Syndicalism, Revolutionary nionism, Fabianism, Independent Labour Party, etc.—seems to have made no appeal to his imagination at any period of his career. While many of the leading French politicians, including the present President, Millerand, the present Premier, Briand, the first war-Premier, Viviani, and several other prominent men, were Socialists in the early part of their career, their Quebec contemporary remained entirely untouched by the revolutionary propaganda. He joined the Rouge party in his youth, and that party after Papineau's return from France in 1847 adopted a radical programme and was much affected by the European upheaval of 1848; but when Wilfrid Laurier joined it, it had thrown over most of the radical planks of its platform and was almost solely moved by a zeal for individual freedom and constitutional liberty. Laurier was never in any radical sense a tribune of the people. He was not easily stirred by popular cries. He was, as Professor Skelton says, "a whig rather than a radical, moderate, judicial, respectful of precedent, aware of the difficulty of effecting reforms that would be lasting." The burning passion of the great French radicals was as foreign to his spirit as if his ancestors had come from England rather than from France. His whole life, inner and outer, seems to have been lived outside that current of passionate thought and feeling which, in Europe at least, swept so many men of progressive impulses off their feet and filled them in their youthful days with fiery zeal for a radical transformation of society. His long and absorbed interest in the literature of early Victorian British liberalism had so saturated his mind and shaped his thought that his mental habits, in spite of his French origin, were less French than British.

Even within the sphere of practical Canadian politics his interests were limited. He was never at home and never deeply interested in the intricacies of high finance. The marvellous power of Gladstone to grow eloquent in a budget speech and dazzle the imagination of his hearers with figures and statistics seems to have been denied the great Canadian liberal. On Constitutional questions he had a firm grasp, and when any problem arose that touched the liberties of any group of people he spoke with passionate eloquence and clear logical expository power; but economics and financial questions were uncongenial to him and were left for the most part to his colleagues. Even within the limits of his favourite topics, his intellectuality was not remarkable, considering the total effect of his personality and oratory upon those who heard him. As Professor Skelton says: "When he did speak, he confined himself to a few broad points, developing them logically, calmly, persuasively. The thought was not abstruse, the reasoning not subtle; it seemed to the hearer plain common sense, touched with emotion, heightened with imagination, sharpened in a clinching phrase." In a word, clearness, deftness, debating skill were all his, but he had none of "Blake's range of mind, or his grasp and marshalling of intricate detail." His thought, although generally logical and orderly, had some of that looseness of texture which is apt to go along with the rhetorical habit, so that he has left behind him nothing that could be compared for simplicity, directness, brevity, aptness and an almost organic closeness of texture with the unforgettable Gettysburg address of Abraham Lincoln, whose life and work he so admired and studied in his early days in Arthabaska.

What, then, were the sources of his undoubtedly great power In the forefront must be placed his clear conception of his life's task. He might have said with St. Paul: "This one thing I do." He said of himself in a crucial moment during the clerical crusade of 1897: "I have devoted my life to the realization of an idea. I have taken the work of Confederation where I found it when I entered political life and determined to give it my life. Nothing will deter me from continuing to the end in my task of conserving at all costs

our civil liberty." Again and again during his life-time Sir Wilfrid was called an opportunist. And he was an opportunist so far as the choice of means for the realization of his ends was concerned. But the aim of his life and the main goal of his political activity remained the same throughout his whole career. Most Canadians now under fifty years of age take Confederation for granted. The British North America Act is for them a document belonging to past history. But Wilfrid Laurier was a young man when that Act was agreed upon. The significance of Confederation was borne in upon him when his mind was young and impressionable. He saw with the utmost clearness what younger Canadians are apt to forget—that the fundamental fact in the political life of Canada is that the country is occupied by two peoples, differing in race, in religion, in language and in traditions. At first, he, as a member of the Rouge party, opposed Confederation on the ground that the French province would be swamped by the three English provinces; but maturer thought convinced him that Confederation offered a possible solution of the race-problem, and from that moment two principles guided his political activity: (1) to adhere faithfully to the guarantees of the Confederation compact, and (2) to develop a common unhyphenated Canadian nationality. In the valedictory which he delivered for his class in the Law School of McGill University he had declared that the duty of a lawyer was "to maintain private right, to uphold constitutional liberty and to work for racial harmony." That statement was prophetic of his whole career. It was not merely the letter of the British North America Act that he was eager to maintain and enforce. Rather it was the inner spirit of Confederation that he cared for. He perceived clearly from the first that the numbers, wealth and energy of the English-speaking Canadians and the high, proud spirit of the French Canadians could not be joined together in a real political union so long as the thought of domination possessed either race or so long as the habit of coercing minorities prevailed. Hence his policy was always one of conciliation. Most of his political enemies and many of his political friends thought he had shifted his position between the time of the Manitoba School Question and the crea-

tion of the two new prairie Provinces, but he himself denied it and insisted that his attitude was the same in both cases. What he meant was, no doubt, that in both cases he was opposed to coercion—the coercion by the Federal Parliament of the Protestant majority in the first case, and, in the second case, the coercion of the Catholic minority or rather the deliberate denial to them, in the new Bills, of rights which they had had under the Territorial provisions. He saw no hope for the future peace of Canada unless a spirit of conciliation, fair play, moderation and racial toleration came to prevail. From the beginning of his career to the end of it he fought the extremists of both sides and was a target for their missiles. In Ontario he was too French for the Orangemen and in Quebec too English for the Nationalists. He had a deep-seated fear of the consequences for Canada of any form of coercion and no one can fully understand his hostility to conscription in 1917 unless he judges it in the light of this life-long fear. He saw clearly that no political separation of the two races in the future was possible and, since they must continue to live in the same house together, he felt that the supreme thing in Canadian public life was to establish a real political *esprit de corps,* a lofty political morale, a habit of thinking kindly, of behaving politely and of speaking moderately. Hence any political act that tended to arouse the slumbering hatred of the extremists of both races for each other, even though the end aimed at was the winning of the war, seemed to him a questionable measure unless it was approved by the vote of the whole people. And the moderation, fairness, kindliness which he preached to others he manifested supremely in his own life.

Such was the most outstanding feature of the career of Sir Wilfrid. And who that looks out upon the world to-day—upon Ireland, the Balkans, India, South Africa, the United States—can doubt that the supreme task of humanity is the one Sir Wilfrid gave his life to in Canada? Either wars must continue until all the weaker races are eliminated and the few stronger ones consent to confine themselves to certain territories, or we must develop a kind of mentality that will enable races to live side by side with a minimum of friction and war-

fare. Surely the latter is the only possible solution of the world's problem and, if it is, Sir Wilfrid Laurier may well be remembered for many years as one of the first statesmen to perceive the need of a new racial *esprit de corps* and to achieve such an *esprit de corps* in his own political relations with men of another race.

In the second place, Sir Wilfrid displayed courage of a high order in the service of this political ideal of racial conciliation and of his liberal principles in general. It was not the courage which springs from abounding physical vitality, high emotional enthusiasm and an unusually large instinct of pugnacity. His health, especially in youth, was not robust and only through the skilful loving care of his wife was his life prolonged to a ripe old age. His temperament was cool and detached rather than passionate and excitable. He never ran away from a fight, but kindliness was certainly more characteristic of him than pugnacity. In short, all the sources of the average man's courage were more or less lacking in him, and yet he had courage of the highest order. Any average man who loves his home, his party or his country can easily muster up courage enough to fight the enemy, but only a man of the highest character can fight his friends and love them or at least do them justice as he fights them. The highest moral character is attained only when the great abstract sentiments of justice, liberty, truth, etc., become organized into the very warp and woof of the mind. The individual who has achieved such a character can rise to a height of disinterested courage to which the average man can scarcely ever be lifted by his more ordinary concrete sentiments. There is a certain selflessness about such a man to which ordinary mortals are entire strangers.

Now most unbiassed readers of Professor Skelton's biography will find the feeling grow upon them as they read that the courage of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was of this high order. We see it in his youthful advocacy of liberal opinions in the college of L'Assomption. We see it in the cool, unemotional, unflinching way in which he took his first defeat in the election which followed his appointment to a place in the Cabinet of Alexander Mackenzie. We see it in the clean, open, honest fight he made

in Quebec against the hierarchy of his own beloved Church in 1896 and 1897. We see it in his determined advoccay of the rights of the Catholic minority in Alberta and Saskatchewan when many of his Protestant friends found it so difficult to follow him. We see it in the way he took his undeserved defeat in the reciprocity campaign of 1911. And last of all we see it in the long agony of his differences with his liberal friends over the conscription issue. His enemies have used this last act of his political career as a stick to cudgel him with, and the present writer has to confess that he could not follow his old leader in the stand he then took. But a careful reader of Sir Wilfrid's letters and speeches of that period, as reported by Professor Skelton, will be forced to acknowledge, in the cooler atmosphere and the whiter light of 1922, that Sir Wilfrid felt his conduct entirely consistent with his own past, the recognized principles of the liberal party and with the peculiar necessities of the Canadian racial situation. He broke with many of his old friends and opposed them at the polls; he jeopardized, as he well knew, his place in the memory of the people; he risked the imputation to him by his enemies of faithlessness to the great cause of the Allied nations; but though he felt most profoundly the tragedy of it all and often uttered the cry that he had lived too long, he followed his conscience to the last and patiently but unflinchingly endured the social and political consequences. And although many may still believe that his thinking on this matter was too abstract, rigid and doctrinaire, surely such courage as he then showed is too rare in political life to be passed over by those who survive him without its due meed of recognition and praise.

Finally, Sir Wilfrid owed much of his power over the hearts and imaginations of men to the fact that he was a Christian gentleman. There was a note of distinction about his manner, his carriage, his address, his way of wearing his clothes, his attitude towards his political enemies in debate and towards his friends when they differed from him which marked him off from all the other public men of his time. He was friendly but never effusive. He was a good mixer but at the same time there was a subtle reserve in his manner which kept his relations with people from becoming common and

undignified. He had a touch of inscrutability which made him an interesting mystery even to those who stood closest to him. Above all, he was a Christian in the simple ethical sense of that term. Few men in the public life of Canada have been less given to cherishing a grudge. As his biographer says: "Personal prejudice played little part in shaping his course. He never cherished resentment against a foe who attacked him or a friend who failed him. He was genuinely charitable and sympathetic in his interpretation of the motives of others and he had schooled himself to bear serenely the misinterpretation of his own motives by other men. Mr. Préfontaine had an elaborate brochure prepared, raking up all Israel Tarte's past; Sir Wilfrid, despite the fact that Mr. Tarte was criticizing the party vigorously, requested its suppression. He would not fight any man with personalities, least of all one who had been a friend." Two brief quotations, from a letter written and a speech delivered in the last year of his life, will show how deep his trust in the simple Christian feeling of kindliness and forgiveness was to the very end. To a Western supporter he writes: "It is never sound policy to harbour a grudge nor even to resent an injury, except when inspired by sheer malice.." To a club of Young Liberals he said in an address: "Faith is better than doubt and love is better than hate. Banish doubt and hate from your life. Let your souls be ever open to the prompting of faith and the gentle influence of brotherly love. Be adamant against the haughty, be gentle and kind to the weak. Let your aim and purpose, in good report or ill, in victory or defeat, be so to live, so to strive, so to serve as to do your part to raise ever higher the standard of life and of living."

These brief flashes of insight into the innermost mind of Sir Wilfrid make it possible for those who did not know him to realize how one of his Canadian followers could say of him after his death: "Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the best man I have ever known. His instinctive honour, his kindliness and forgetfulness of self, that shining out of nobility and distinction of character which men call magnetism, made every man who entered his presence a better man for it."

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THE CRITICAL POSITION OF THE CANADIAN RAILWAYS

IN this article we shall not include the Canadian Pacific Railway, for while it has been passing through troublous times it has had ample revenues with which to meet its operating expenses and fixed charges and to pay its customary return to the shareholders. Its position in the railway world is so strong as to be practically unassailable, and while, on account of the general uncertainty as to the outcome of national and international affairs, its stock declined in the world's security markets during the early months of the autumn of 1921, its financial strength is being again reflected in the recent steady improvement which has marked the upward movement of its credit. We shall not need to include this railway system, therefore, in our survey; it is only the other systems, namely, those which are now and those which soon will be in the hands of the Government, which need to engage our attention here.

When the Canadian Northern Railway Company was acquired, in 1917, through the purchase of the remaining $60,000,000 of common stock, the Government declared its intention of operating this property, for the time being, under the corporate machinery by which it had been operated previously, but under a reorganized board of directors named by the Government and free from political influence or interference.[1] In June, 1919, the Canadian Northern Railways Act was passed, providing for the administration of all railways that had been or might be subsequently acquired by the Government, under a Canadian National Railways Board, to be appointed by the Governor-in-Council, but although two years have elapsed this board has not yet been formed.* Consequently, the management of the former Canadian Northern Railway is still carried on by the old operating staff under a reconstituted directorate. For operating purposes there was added to this railway system the lines of the Intercolonial, the

[1]Hansard, May 15, 1918, p. 1999. *Dec., 1921.

National Transcontinental and the Grand Trunk Pacific, the latter of which has been in the hands of the Minister of Railways as receiver since March 9, 1919.

The financial results of the management of this system show that for the year 1919 there was a deficit in operating expenses and fixed charges amounting to $48,242,536, while for the year 1920 the corresponding deficit was almost $70,000,000. These figures do not take into account any interest on the capital of the National Transcontinental and Intercolonial railways.[2] To add $12,000,000 for the interest on the capital of these lines would bring the deficit up to $82,000,000 for the government-owned railways; but as the capital for these roads was furnished by the Government and interest payments therefore would be made by one branch of the Government to another, we may neglect this item entirely. A deficit of $70,000,000, however, calls for explanation and when we note that the deficit of 1920 was almost fifty per cent. greater than that of the previous year we have a condition which demands serious attention.

With these facts placed before the country there was an insistent demand in Parliament for an investigation of the affairs of these railways. This, together with the fact that the operation of the Canadian Government Merchant Marine was not satisfactory either financially or otherwise, led to the organization of a Committee on Canadian National Railways and Shipping, composed of members from the three parties in the House to inquire into:

1. What information as to the government railways and marine should be given to Parliament, and when and how such information should be given?

2. What system of auditing should be adopted and what details should be given in the annual report?

3. What, if any, improvement could be made in the general plan of management?

4. Whether and for what purposes this committee should be continued?

As will be noted from the terms of reference, there was much contention as to what information should be given to

[2]Hansard, Mar. 17, 1921, pp. 1051-52.

the public. Some were opposed to making public anything more than the main outstanding facts; others considered that, since the people have to finance the railways, complete details should be placed before them as to the methods and results of operation.[3] The chief objections urged by members of Parliament to giving full information to the people were, first, that in this way the railways would become, as the Intercolonial has been, the football of politics, and, second, that thereby all the facts would get to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and would be used by the latter against its rival, the government-owned system. These difficulties, especially the latter, were given little attention by the management of the government system.[4] To the latter, the important reason why certain things should not be made public was because it would make the administration of the National lines much more difficult, when past contracts made and prices paid, as well as proposed future business, were laid open to the eyes of all.[5]

It is desirable to note the chief reasons for the increasing railway deficit, as these were brought out in the course of the investigation.

1. High wages Out of every dollar earned by the Canadian National Railways, seventy-five cents were spent for wages, twenty cents for fuel, and twenty-nine cents were required for other materials and miscellaneous expenses in order to earn the dollar. These high wages were due to certain conditions which prevailed in the United States and were made applicable to Canadian railway labour. In 1918, after the United States Government had taken control of the railways, the "McAdoo award" raised the wages of railway employees, and this was followed by 23 supplements to adjust the wages of the men in the different trades, which added more to the payrolls than the original award. Then, in 1920, after further agitation on the part of labour, the "Chicago award," made in

[3]The arguments are given in Hansard, Mar. 22, 1921, pp. 1231--68; Apr. 5, 1921, pp. 1644-84; Apr. 8, 1921, pp. 1823-82.

[4]They realized that the Canadian Pacific could learn little, if anything, from the Canadian National Railways. See Hansard, Apr. 8, 1921, pp. 1866, 1876-77.

[5]Proceedings of Committee, pp. 69, 70, 71, 74, 77, etc.

September, raised the wages of labour still more and rendered this increase retroactive to May 1st. Of course, the railways were allowed to raise their rates after September, but as this was not retroactive the extra wages given from May 1st to that date was equivalent to a hand-out to the men, for which the railways received no return.[6]

To show the extent to which wages were increased for the various classes of railway labour, the following table of schedule rates of pay is given:

Class of Employee	Basis of Rate	1917	1918	1919	1920	Per cent. Increase 1918 over 1917	1919 over 1917	1920 over 1917
Sectionman	per hr.	$0.19	$0.25	$0.40	$0.48½	31.6	110.53	155.26
Machinist	per hr.	0.37	0.68	0.68	0.85	83.8	83.8	129.7
Agent— Telegrapher	per mo.	66.00	85.00	111.00	125.00	28.8	68.2	89.4
Conductor— Passenger	per 100 mls.	2.90	3.35	4.00	4.67	12.1	37.9	61.0
Conductor— Freight	per 100 mls.	4.00	4.82	5.40	6.44	20.5	35.0	60.1
Brakeman— Passenger	per 100 mls.	1.60	2.23	2.66	3.33	39.4	66.2	108.1
Brakeman— Freight	per 100 mls.	2.67	3.72	4.08	5.12	39.3	52.8	91.8
Engineer— Passenger	per 100 mls.	4.11	4.57	5.60	6.40	11.2	36.2	55.7
Engineer— Freight	per 100 mls.	4.53	5.23	6.08	7.12	15.4	34.2	59.4
Fireman— Passenger	per 100 mls.	2.50	3.15	4.00	4.80	26.0	60.0	92.0
Fireman— Freight	per 100 mls.	2.85	3.69	4.24	5.28	29.4	48.8	85.3

It must be emphasized here that these do not include allowances or over-time rates, which have been a source of enormously high wages in many cases without any compensating return to the railways.[7] From this table it will be observed

[6]Procedings of Committee, pp. 108-109.

[7]Proceedings of Committee, p. 93.

that the unitary rate of wages increased in 1920 over that of 1919 by very large percentages. For instance, for sectionmen the increase was roughly 45%; for machinists, 46%; for conductors, 25%; for brakemen, 39% to 42%; for engineers, 19% to 25%; and for firemen, 32% to 36%. But these figures fail to tell the whole story. Before the McAdoo award the total yearly wages paid on the Canadian National Railways were $43,265,881.79 The 23 supplements to that award increased this by $13,013,954.92. The increase due to the Chicago award was $16,390,895.58. Thus the pay-roll per annum was increased from $43,265,881, as at June 30, 1918, to $81,347,880 in 1920; in other words an increase of 88% in two years.[8] This does not take into account the increase in labour that was required to handle the increased business, nor a lot of the over-time conditions which, because they changed from time to time, it was impossible to figure.[9] Moreover, under the retroactive feature of the Chicago award a gift of $4,831,385 had to be made to the men.[9] Since July, 1921, there has been a reduction of wages amounting to 12½%.

2. High cost of fuel and other materials. As we have said, 20% of all earnings had to go for fuel. The average price paid for coal during a succession of years was as follows:—

In 1916,	average price	$3.65	per ton	for Canadian	Northern System.
" 1917,	"	4.45	"	"	"
" 1918,	"	6.00	"	"	"
" 1919,	"	6.20	"	Canadian	National Railways.
" 1920,	"	7.40	"	"	"

The total increase in the fuel cost of 2,800,383 tons at an average price of $6.20 per ton in 1919 and 3,066,344 tons at an average price of $7.40 per ton in 1920 would be $5,328,571.[10] The cost of ties also increased from an average of 83.4c. to 91.6c. each, and this with the greater use of ties made the expense bill for this item in 1920 $32,798.90 more than that of 1919.[11] The cost of most other materials increased even more than that of ties.[12]

[8]Ibid., p. 94.
[9]Ibid., pp. 36-39, 109.
[10]Ibid., p. 96.
[11]Proceedings of Committee, p. 96.
[12]Ibid., p. 95, gives exact figures.

Leaving out of account, for the time being, everything else than wages, from what we have already shown concerning the vast increase in the amounts paid for labour, it is easy to account for the increased deficit in 1920 over that of 1919. For if we take the increase in the wages bill in the two years, from $43,000,000 to $81,000,000, or an average yearly increase of $19,000,000, and add to this the amount of the retroactive payment under the Chicago award, namely, $4,800,000, which is a payment for the year 1920, we shall get $23,800,000; and this amount added to the $48,000,000 deficit of 1919 will increase that deficit to over $70,000,000 for 1920. It is evident, then, that the increase of wages alone is sufficient to account for the increased deficit noted.

But it is thought by many that the increased rates granted to the railways were enough to compensate for the higher wages paid to labour. What were these increases? On Dec. 1, 1916, there was allowed a freight increase of 5% on lines east of the Great Lakes, but no increase on the western lines. In March, 1918, there was an increase of 15% on all lines. In August, 1918, there was an additional increase of 10%. On Sept.. 13, 1920, there was an increase of freight rates of 40% on the eastern lines and 35% on the western lines. But there were a great many commodities to which the increased rates did not apply, so that the average increase on the Canadian National System was only 27.45%. This increase in rates was not proportional to the increased cost of labour and materials. Then, on Jan. 1, 1921, these rates were automatically reduced on the eastern lines 35% and on the western lines 30% and the new average yield to the National System was 23.22%. It is manifest, therefore, that the net increase of rates was much less than the gross increase would imply.[13]

3. Another reason for the great deficit of 1920 was the large amount of deferred maintenance charges, and all these were charged to operating expenses, not to capital. During the four years of the war a great amount of the expenses for maintenance of way and structures and for maintenance of equipment was necessarily postponed, and when the war was over there had to be much greater expenditures to bring the

[13]Proceedings of Committee, pp. 110-111.

property up to the operating standard, so as to be in a position to compete with other lines operating through the same country. Then, on the prairies, a large proportion of the lines was originally laid with 60-pound rails, and with the growth of traffic on some of these lines it has been found desirable to use heavier cars and locomotives, which, in turn, has necessitated replacing the light steel rails with rails of 80 or 85 pounds. Of course, part of this expense for heavier rails could be charged naturally to capital.[14] The following comparison of expenditures for the years 1919 and 1920 is instructive:[15]

	1919	1920	Total increase	% increase
Maintenance of way and structures $28,476,450		$34,759,329	$6,282,879	22.06
Maintenance of equipment	19,950,409	27,963,511	8,013,102	40.15

This increase of $14,000,000 in the maintenance of the properties and facilities of the National lines for one year represents a heavy drain upon earnings, and, taken in connexion with the very high wages and costs of fuel and materials, must have been a potent cause leading to the financial deficit. Then, too, at the close of the war there was a general feeling that public expenditures should not cease immediately, but, on the contrary, should be continued for some time; and acting upon this the directors of the National railways recommended to the Government a programme of betterments which would improve greatly the position of this system from a competitive standpoint.[16] The Government acquiesced in these expenditures and the management set to work to develop the property to enable it to provide good service for which everybody was clamouring. Probably the scale of improvements was too liberal for the revenues of the lines.

Some have thought that one reason why the National Railways have not paid was because political interference had already become evident in the affairs of the system, and it has been openly stated by at least one of the papers friendly to the

[14]Ibid., pp. 107-108, 164-165.
[15]Ibid., p. 88.
[16]Proceedings of Committee, p. 135.

Government that "the pretence that these railways are now free from politics deceives nobody." [17] To this statement, as to political influence, the management of the system give a categorical denial. While acknowledging that he receives letters from members of Parliament, presumably suggesting certain appointments or the granting of certain contracts, the President stated that the management is not embarrassed at all or prejudiced by political intervention.[18] One of the directors, while stating that he had seen no political interference, conceded that the possibility of it is always present and that he could see no way of getting rid of it.[19] Whether there shall be much or little interference on the part of the Government will depend largely on the personnel of the directors and to a less degree on the needs of the railways.

There is also the prevalent view throughout the country that the board of directors of the National Railways is too closely related with other interests to be able to see the welfare of the railways in an impartial way. It would be unnatural that a director of the railways, who was at the same time a director of a railway equipment concern, should not want the railways, when in need of rolling stock, to purchase from the manufacturing firm of which he was a director. It is not necessary that he should profit financially by such a transaction in order to want it consummated; directors are honoured according to the success they have had in the administration of corporations, and if they can make their connexions in a business way contribute to the upbuilding of the respective concerns of which they are directors, who shall say that it should not be done? On the board of directors as at present organized there are members who are also presidents, vice-presidents or directors of forty-eight other companies, and many of the latter are in a position to sell to the National large amounts of the materials, equipment and service which they would require.[20] The statement that these relations are made effective in this way has been positively denied by one of

[17]Hansard, Mar. 22, 1921, p. 1233.
[18]Procedings of Committee, pp. 489, 493. See also *ibid.*, pp. 173, 492.
[19]Ibid., pp. 146, 147.
[20]Hansard, Apr. 5, 1921, p. 1676; Proceedings of Committee, p. 149.

the vice-presidents of the National System.[21] In buying supplies the almost universal rule has been to call for tenders and the lowest tenderer invariably received the order, so long as quality, deliveries, etc., were acceptable.[22] The words of the President in this connexion are very *à propos*: "The railway company buys everything by tender. . . . And I am very sorry that it is so . . . because I think we get it in the neck very often, in regard to our prices. . . . Under the old conditions when we were carrying on as a private corporation we rarely appeared in print as to tenders for this, that and the other thing, and it is human nature . . . that when we call for tenders for ties . . . materials . . . that a few of them get together and say: 'Now, they are bound to buy these ties. We cannot all get the contract, but we can fix the price so that we will all be in it somewhere before we get through.' " [23] This acknowledgment, that the public railway system, through buying by tenders, frequently pays higher prices than a private corporation, is fully confirmed by a representative of the Canadian Pacific Railway who said that the moment the manufacturers found that this company was in the market for a large quantity of material they immediately met and raised the prices.[24] For this reason the Canadian Pacific purchased its requirements by private negotiation, and not by tender. Evidently the National Railways, in buying by tender, pay the highest prices, while the private railway company secures the lowest prices. Possibly, buying by tender has the advantage, however, of purchasing in the open market without any ostensible favoritism.

It is just possible that it cannot be said truthfully that other companies profited from the publicly-owned railways through the community of directors. But the words of President Hanna in this connexion are well worth pondering: "I should say that under a new administration it would be better for everybody who had anything to do with the National Railway to eliminate themselves from anything else but the National system." [25] If this were done there would be some

[21]Proceedings of Committee, p. 230.
[22]Ibid., pp. 226, 227, 232, 237-8.
[23]Ibid., p. 481.
[24]Ibid., pp. 442-3.
[25]Proceedings of Committee, p. 481.

radical changes both in the directorate and the management, for even some of the latter have very close connexions with the corporate life of the country.[26] On the other hand, if, as so many assert, the important thing is to secure a "business administration" by "good business men," it will be impossible to dissociate these railways from the country's industrial, commercial and financial interests.

The question has been asked: Why should the Canadian National Railways show a large deficit in 1920 when the Canadian Pacific, subject to the same external influences, paying the same rates of wages and charging the same tariffs for freight and passengers, was able to pay all its operating expenses and fixed charges and have a good balance for the payment of dividends to its stockholders? The answer given by a vice-president of the Canadian National Railways is as follows: [27]

1. The Canadian Pacific runs through a well-developed territory whereas the Canadian National lines are in a large measure pioneer roads in sections only recently opened up.

2. Consequently, the Canadian Pacific has a much larger volume of business and when its greater working expenses are spread over a larger tonnage the unitary expense of operation is correspondingly reduced and so the net earnings are maintained or increased.[28]

3. The Canadian Pacific can concentrate its traffic into heavier trainloads and in this way reduce the actual movement expenses.[29] The heavier trainloads on the Canadian Pacific which can be carried at very little more expense than the lighter trainloads of the National System, give a financial economy to the former which is impossible at present to the latter, and is a large factor in making the difference between operating profit and operating deficit. In the words of the above-mentioned official, this is "the whole story." [30]

We are inclined to disagree with the latter statement. It takes more than merely physical operating conditions to make

[26]Hansard, Apr. 5, 1921, p. 1676.
[27]Proceedings of Committee, pp. 97-99, 111-114.
[28]Ibid., p. 97, Table A.
[29]Procedeings of Committee, pp. 98-9, 186-9.
[30]Ibid., p. 113.

the difference between profit and loss. The clientele which has been built up gradually through the rendering of good service to the public; the allegiance of the whole staff to the directing minds; the vision and enterprise of those entrusted with the management; the pride in the success of the organization; the system under which the road is capitalized—these and many related factors must also be taken into consideration in showing why the Canadian Pacific has been able to meet successfully the recent and present emergency and show its favourable operating results. In partial extenuation of the unfortunate results on the Canadian National System, we must keep in mind that this system maintains and operates a transportation network equal in mileage to the Canadian Pacific, with practically one-half of the traffic, and as the overhead costs relating to the traffic are necessarily greater the cost of maintenance is likewise very much greater.

But what about the future of the National Railways? What has been the attitude of the management and of the Government towards these annually increasing deficits? What plans, if any, are put forth by them for bringing these railways out of their present Slough of Despond?

One would imagine, from the fact that the Government last spring appointed a committee to inquire into the condition of these railways, that it was very much alarmed at the facts. But upon looking closely at the subjects into which the committee was to inquire, there is nothing in the reference to indicate that the Government was at all disturbed over the financial condition of the system. The Minister of Railways, in his annual report, avowed his belief "in the ultimate success of our National Railways. But . . . success depends on how they are managed." [31] His policy was to put the whole problem before the management and let the latter solve it by wage reductions. On the whole, the Government seemed to regard the serious situation with an attitude of indifference, as if they would say: 'When the country grows up this condition will change and everything will come out right in the end.' [32] On the part of the management, too, there seemed to be

[31]Hansard, Mar. 17, 1921, pp. 1054-55.

[32]Ibid., Mar. 22, 1921, p. 1264; Apr. 8, 1921, pp. 1830, 1846.

a well-defined conclusion that "the indirect benefit which the country is receiving from the National System will in a large measure offset the temporary loss that the country is suffering in the deficit," [33] but what the "great many indirect benefits" are was not stated. The lapse of time, the growth of the country, the gradual improvement of the system and the increasing traffic were the ameliorative factors which were emphasized to gradually overcome the chronic deficits and place the system upon a firm foundation.[34] In order to increase the volume of business it was considered necessary that the public should realize that the National System is owned by the people, and that their coöperation is absolutely necessary for the success of the enterprise.[35] The wail of complaint on the part of both directors and management was very pronounced concerning the indifference of the public towards these National lines,[36] and even the President stated that "people do not care whether things go well or not." [37]

In addition to the gradually increasing development of traffic, the economies which would result from taking over the Grand Trunk and adding this system to the National lines furnished an additional talking point for the Government. The management of the National System did not seem to be very optimistic as to such economies; for, when questioned as to the effect of coördinating these two systems, the chief operating officials said: "Unquestionably coördination will result in improved service in some places. On the whole, it will tend to increase the volume of traffic, lengthen the haul, and effect savings in certain localities." [38] These and other like expressions from the man in charge of operation and maintenance do not hold out much hope that any substantial economy will ensue from the unification of all these railways under a central management. The mere "tendency" to effect savings "in certain localities" gives little encouragement that these economies will contribute materially towards the reduction of the $70,-

[33]Proceedings of Committee, pp. 117, 494.
[34]Ibid., pp. 116, 146.
[35]Ibid., pp. 116-117, 137; Hansard, Mar. 17, 1921, pp. 1055-56.
[36]Proceedings of Committee, p. 116.
[37]Ibid., pp. 78, 473-76.
[38]Proceedings of Committee, p. 181.

000,000 deficit. But there is one result which should be realized; namely, there should be on the government lines a larger amount than heretofore of the higher class freight, from which greater revenue should be received. The Canadian Northern lines in the east touch but few of the manufacturing centres, where high-class traffic is abundant; and even at those centres which it did reach the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk had already established themselves before the advent of the Canadian Northern, so that the latter was handicapped in securing a share of this business. But now that the Grand Trunk is to be operated with the Canadian Northern its better paying traffic will help to augment the revenue of the National System by having commodities carried all the way across the continent on these lines There is little reason to doubt, however, that the boasted advantages of coördination of these two systems, under which the government railways were to be transformed from a financially unsuccessful to a financially successful enterprise, are foredoomed to defective, if even partial, realization.

Here, then, are the conditions as we have them to-day: There are included under the Government the former Canadian Northern Railway, the Intercolonial, the National Transcontinental and the Grand Trunk Pacific and its branches, amounting in all to about 17,000 miles of line, in the operation of which there was in 1920 a deficit of $70,000,000 including fixed charges. The Grand Trunk Railway System of over 5,300 miles, which in 1920 paid its operating expenses but fell short of meeting its fixed charges by $6,563,091.33,[39] has now been added to those just mentioned; so that now there are well over 22,000 miles under government ownership. The different units of this aggregation show each a deficit as follows: [40]

Canadian Northern.

Deficit in operation	$16,258,579 80	
Fixed charges:		
Due the public	13,837,118 51	
Interest due Government	10,318,869 97	
		$40,414,568 28

[39]Proceedings of Committee, p. 10; Hansard, Mar. 17, 1921, p. 1055. This figure is slightly different from that given in Hansard, Mar. 21, 1921, p. 1183, which is $6,450,000.

[40]Proceedings of Committee, pp. 12, 61; Hansard, Mar. 17, 1921, p. 1052.

Canadian Government Railways. (including National Transcontinental, Intercolonial, Prince Edward Island, and a number of shorter railways), Deficit in operation		10,449,876 43
Grand Trunk Pacific.		
Deficit in operation	$10,134,513 94	
Fixed charges:		
Due the public	6,048,950 60	
Interest due Government	2,475,474 00	
Int. on receiver's certificate for 1920	808,351 63	
		19,467,290 17
		$70,331,734 88
Grand Trunk Railway.		
Due on fixed charges		$ 6,563,091 33

Under these conditions, it seems almost inevitable that when these properties are combined and operated under one management there should be still a deficit; in fact, it is anticipated that the deficit for the next year will be at least $100,000,000. To continue to pile up such additions to the taxpayers' burdens year after year is nothing short of a crime. Some say that the people were too optimistic in the early years of the century in sanctioning and aiding the construction of railways and now the time has come when they have to pay the price of their undue optimism. Such a fatalistic method of dealing with the problem is not in accordance with the sprit of a progressive people. The Government which was in office until December 6th last virtually acknowledged that it had no other policy than to drift along and let such enormous amounts of the people's money go yearly to the payment of these railway deficits; and the present Government has stated that its policy is to give government ownership a fair trial.

But while the last Government has had no remedy to put forward for the financial distress of the railways, there are some private citizens in high positions who have been giving much thought to the serious condition of the publicly-owned railways. Of these, two are men who stand high in the industrial and the railway world, and because of the attention which has been attracted to their public statements it is important that these should be considered here.

A contribution upon the railway problem was sent to the Government some months ago by Sir Joseph Flavelle, who during the last half year or more has been the temporary chairman of the Committee of Management of the National Railways. After reviewing some aspects of the railway history, he showed the financial necessities of the National System, involving capital expenditures in the immediate future amounting to $125,000,000 to $175,000,000, which will constitute a new fixed charge of $10,000,000 per annum in addition to the present fixed charges. Moreover, the operating loss for the year 1921, estimated by that of the first half of the year, will exceed the government estimate. He emphasized the urgency of keeping politics out of the management, the necessity of the people's using their own road, and the importance of a well-developed settlement policy for the unoccupied lands of the west, as well as for those lands contiguous to the railways. In all this he was treating familiar subjects. While acknowledging that economies would result from the complete integration of all the components of the National System, he was careful to warn against the belief that these economies would be immediately reflected in reduced operating expenses. His calculations showed that the government railway system, when fully completed by the inclusion of the Grand Trunk lines, would have net fixed charges aggregating $66,000,000 per year. His plan for meeting the situation so as to relieve the railway company—"the Dominion Treasury cannot be relieved except through increased earnings"—is as follows:—

That the new National Railway Company should have a nominal authorized capital stock of $750,000,000, consisting of $500,000,000 of common stock and $250,000,000 of preference (6%) stock; and that the Government take common shares at par in payment of its existing advances to the various systems. These advances on Dec. 31, 1920, amounted to $320,000,000 of loans and $33,000,000 of Grand Trunk Pacific debentures. The cost of the Intercolonial and National Transcontinental railways should be written off immediately. For the future, any expenditure that should be charged properly to capital should be provided by the Government and for these advances from year to year the Government should receive

preference stock at par. All deficits which the Government had to meet should be settled by giving to the Government common stock at par. The company would then issue preference stock only against capital expenditure advanced by the Government, and the common stock would be issued to the Government in payment of its advances to meet operating deficits, including fixed charges. In this way, the common stock would represent the cost of acquiring the system plus the amount of the operating deficits from year to year; and the preference stock would represent the amount of capital expenditure made by the Government upon the railway system after its unification. Of course, the obligations of the railway company to the outside public would be represented by the bonds, debentures and guaranteed stock outstanding. Of the many criticisms of this plan which suggest themselves to the thinking mind, I shall mention but two. In the first place, since the Government is the owner of the unified system, and it will obtain all surplus revenues and, *per contra,* meet all deficits, there is no real reason why its ownership should be divided into two different compartments, one called preference stock and the other called common stock. No useful purpose is to be served by this division of the stock, so far as the Government is concerned. It may make possible the payment of dividends on the small amount of preference stock, while the payment of dividends on the common stock may be indefinitely postponed. But will it change the financial position of the railway system, or will the country be any better off by such division of the stock? Even the uninitiated would answer in the negative. In the second place, if, as Sir Joseph states, "the annual deficits in operation and fixed charges are an actual and irrecoverable loss, and should not be carried as an active debit against the railway," why not honestly though sorrowfully charge them off as losses instead of using them to swell the capital stock account of the Government? If they are losses which are irrecoverable, they can never be transformed by any accounting device into capital, in the hope that some dim and distant day in the future the company will be able to pay dividends upon them.

The other plan to which we must make reference is that

which was proposed by Lord Shaughnessy, chairman of the board of directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. This plan was described in a letter sent to Premier Meighen, dated April 6th, but not made public until April 24th. In this message Lord Shaughnessy reviewed the history and the present conditions of the government railways and set forth his plan for relieving the people "from some part of the distressing and dangerous financial results now in evidence and which threaten the future." Briefly, his policy was to leave the Grand Trunk System under private ownership and operation and to bring promptly and effectively to the aid of the National Railway system additional financial strength and sustenance by having the National railways merged with the Canadian Pacific for operation and management. He would have all the extraneous assets of the Canadian Pacific (including its railways in the United States, its ocean steamships, its lands still owned, etc.) segregated from the company's system of railways, vessels, and other accessories, and this latter system would be joined with the National railways under the comprehensive organization of the Canadian Pacific for administration and operation. In consideration for the Canadian Pacific shareholders giving up their interest in the return from the extraneous assets, which would then be under separate management, the Government should enter into a contract approaching perpetuity with the Canadian Pacific, by which this company would operate the whole property for the account of the Canadian people. The Government should agree to pay the shareholders in perpetuity a fixed annual dividend on the share capital, to be supplemented by a further payment when the whole property was yielding a specified return. By having these properties all operated by one management, there would be so many economies effected that the operating ratio would be reduced from about 101% to a maximum of 80%, which would reduce the total annual deficit to eleven or twelve million dollars. Gradually even this would be overcome through settlement of the country and increase of traffic; and in the meantime the saving to the country would be very large. There is no question whatever that the plan outlined by this great railway statesman would be of inestimable benefit, in

surmounting the financial handicap of the National railways and providing the country with transportation facilities in the management of which there would be shown enterprise, initiative and a constructive national outlook. If this plan were accepted the details would have to be worked out carefully; but the recent government showed no inclination to part from its policy of drifting and piling up deficits. The report of the Railway Inquiry Commission of 1916-17 had shown some of the advantages from consolidation of railways; and this plan, developed by the former President of the Canadian Pacific, was simply carrying out the principle of consolidation to its logical conclusion, under the most hopeful conditions for imminent success. It is worth noting here that the scheme devised and put into operation in England for readjusting the railway relations since the period of government control has been abandoned involves the creation of four large systems, each with a complete monopoly in its own territory. Evidently, then, monopoly does not have the same terror for the English people as it has for some craven-hearted and clamorous parliamentarians and newspaper editors in this country, who are vociferous in their denunciations of a railway monopoly and equally outspoken in proclaiming the supposed virtues of public ownership.

If the suggestion of Lord Shaughnessy were accepted as a principle by which to settle the railway problem, modified, perhaps, in some particulars, the arrangement entered into would have to assume much of the aspect of permanence. The railway business cannot prosper except under a policy which has all the elements of continuity. Many of its expenditures must be made a long time in advance, so as to prepare for the increasing volume of traffic which frequently comes with unexpected suddenness. A hand-to-mouth existence is impossible for a railway which would serve the country effectively. So that if the Canadian Pacific were to undertake the operation of the public railways the contract would have to be drawn up in such a way as to permit policies once inaugurated to be carried into effect over a protracted period. Of course, it would not be necessary to have an absolutely fixed and rigid perpetual arrangement, but one which would have such a de-

gree of perpetuity as would assure the Canadian Pacific that when it embarked upon a system of building up the assets and the earning power of the other roads it would be enabled to secure reasonable compensation for this service.

A contract entered into for a period of, say, 99 years would have all the elements of continuity which would be requisite. But instead of having one fixed and unalterable financial arrangement for that entire period, it would be advisable to have the contract such that if at the end of, say, twenty years the earnings of the National lines should exceed a certain amount, due partly to the general development of the country and partly to the efficient management of the Canadian Pacific, there might be a revision of the financial adjustment, so that while the company was allowed adequate return for its management and risk the public would also secure a fair share of the results which accrued from the growth of population and the expansion of the country's business. These revisions should take place subsequently at regular intervals of perhaps ten, fifteen, or twenty years, so that the entire arrangement might have some of the spirit of a partnership for the public welfare. Of course, our regulative machinery would have to be adjusted to accord with these non-competitive conditions.

There are still some people who cling to the hope that as the country grows up to the measure of its transportation facilities the railways owned by the Government will prove a profitable enterprise. To cherish such a hope is to live in a world of delusion. The constant changes of government make it impossible for a railway management to put into effect a long-term policy, without which success is impossible. The facts of experience of state railways in other countries are irrefutable, and human nature and human motives are not different in Canada from what they are elsewhere. I venture to give here the words of Sir William Acworth before a committee in Washington in 1917: " . . . that it is impossible to procure, under *any* system of state management in a democratic state that has yet existed, an authority that is left to consider impartially, undisturbed by political influences, the interests of the whole public, as distinguished from the par-

ticular or local interest of certain places or certain trades. I think that is really the sum of the evidence. . . . all the evidence is that in a democratic state the interference with the impartiality of management in the interest of the whole community, the intrusion of unjustifiable demands on behalf of certain favored individuals or favored localities or favored trade interests has never been prevented." [41] These are the conclusions of one who probably stands without a peer in regard to his knowledge of the results of railway operation both under government and private ownership.

Will the people of Canada learn the lesson before that stage has been reached when stagnation of enterprise must result? Will they seek the best means by which these government-owned railways may be transferred to private control and individual initiative under conditions which will make for the continuous upbuilding of a transportation mechanism responsive to the requirements of a young and progressive country? The last session of Parliament showed clearly that when the people have to pay such large deficits there will be more direct interference by their representatives in the affairs of these railways. Do we want the country shackled by a railway administration in which the same political effects, only upon an extended scale, are shown as in the case of the Intercolonial?

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[41] Hearings before the Newlands Committee, May 7-9, 1917, p. 1145.

RUDOLPH VIRCHOW.

ON October 13, 1821, there was born in the little town of Schivelbein, near Stettin, in Pomerania, Rudolf Ludwig Karl Virchow. He came of humble parentage, his father being a small shopkeeper. There was more than a strain of the Semitic in his heredity as is so commonly the case in the able German, especially the scientist. This little Prussian child was to exert an influence upon his day and generation the importance of which it is difficult to exaggerate.

Centenary commemorations are not always justified, but in the case of Rudolf Virchow it would be omitting a great chance to "point a moral and adorn a tale" if no notice were taken in a medical school of such an occasion. The record of Virchow's professional activities is really the history of the inception and early progress of a science—the science of Pathology. Moreover, Virchow is amongst the very greatest of great men. His versatility was wonderful. To find a man who was his equal in width of interest one has to go back to Leonardo da Vinci. He had three chief interests, in all of which he excelled. His career would have made three notable lives all worth commemorating. In addition to being the greatest medical scientist of his generation, possibly of any generation, he has left his mark as a political reformer and as an anthropologist and ethnologist. His industry can seldom have been equalled. Napoleon claims to have been able to dictate to seven secretaries at one time, but Rudolf Virchow's publications—the mere titles of his own writings—occupied over 100 closely printed pages. While he was producing scientific work which was to revolutionize medicine he was thundering on the public platform against the imbecility of the reigning monarch. Although Prussian in birth, he was no Hun, and it engenders more than a friendly feeling to him when we hear him characterize thus the Hohenzollerns of his day: "I know a family—a very exalted one—in which the grandfather has softening of the brain, the son hardening of the brain and the grandson no brain at all." The saying might be well applied to the succeeding generations of the same

dynasty. In 1865, as leader of the radical party in the Prussian Chamber, he defeated the government on a motion to create a German navy. So enraged was the Chancellor (Bismarck) that he despatched a challenge to this maddeningly irritating and able little professor. The courageous and crushing reply came that his, (Virchow's) life, was one too valuable for science to be thrown away in a common brawl. Needless to say, he was no favorite with the reigning house. Recognition, his pre-eminent position demanded, but that recognition was grudging and given only for his scientific attainments.

To conclude the reference to his political and public activities, he was elected to the National Assembly in 1848, but was too young to take his seat. He was member of the Prussian Chamber from 1862 and Chairman of its Finance Committee for 25 years. In 1880 he was elected to the Reichstag. For many years he was one of the most active members of the Berlin Town Council, being largely responsible for transform- Berlin from a most unhealthy to one of the healthiest cities of Europe. Lord Lister in 1901 on Virchow's 80th birthday did him no more than justice when he said on behalf of the Royal Society and other learned bodies in Great Britain: "All these bodies join in the recognition of your gigantic intellectual powers, in gratitude for the great benefits which you have conferred on humanity and in admiration of your personal character, your absolute uprightness, the courage which has enabled you always to advocate what you believed to be the cause of truth, liberty and justice and the genial nature which won for you the love of all who knew you."

To return to his early life, he lived at home until his 13th year, attending the local public school. He then went to the gymnasium at Cöslin, where he distinguished himself for his linguistic ability, acquiring a knowledge of Hebrew, in which subject he presented himself for examination (the only candidate) on leaving school. He passed first out of school and entered in 1839 the Friedrich Wilhelm Institute for the education of medical officers for the Prussian army. During his student days he had amongst his fellows the great Helmholtz and amongst his teachers Johannes Müller. Finding the ordinary course insufficient for his mental activities, he attended

lectures in logic, psychology, history and Arabic poetry. He took his doctor's degree at the University of Berlin in 1843, the subject of his inaugural dissertation being "De rheumate praesertim corneae." While acting as clinical assistant in the eye department of the Berlin Hospital he had noticed that in keratitis and corneal wounds healing took place without the appearance of plastic exudation. This was his first piece of work on the lines which led to his great book. He was able to show that the cells which appeared in inflammatory exudates were in large part derived from the multiplication of pre-existing cells of the part. On account of his outstanding ability he was exempted from the necessity of entering the army and was immediately appointed Assistant Prosector at the Charité Hospital, and three years later when his chief Froriep resigned, he was appointed his successor. In 1847 he qualified as Privat-docent and about the same time he founded, in conjunction with his friend Reinhardt, his famous *Archiv. für Pathologioche Anatomie and Physiologie, und für Klinische Medecin*, still known under his name, which he continued to edit till his death, i.e., for a period of 54 years. It may be added here that it was his custom himself to edit the whole of each number.

In 1848 he was sent by the Prussian Government to assist in the investigation of an epidemic of relapsing fever (hunger typhus) which was raging in Upper Silesia. The drawing up of the report fell to his share and he produced a most able document, which, however, did not find favour with the government. Not confining himself to the purely medical aspect, he launched out into a discussion of the economic and hygienic factors in the outbreak, and he indicated the social reforms necessary for the prevention of similar epidemics. This experience did more than merely bring forward his name as a social reformer and scientific investigator. It transformed him into a politician, and through the stormy days of the spring of 1848, when revolution in Prussia was only prevented by the pitiful surrender of the King, he made numerous violent speeches and was elected to the National Assembly. At this time also his reforming zeal turned to medicine, and in a journal founded by himself and Leubuscher entitled "Die medicinische Reform" he advocated the establishment of a ministry

of health, free medical education and other reforms. All this exasperated the authorities to such a degree that he was compelled to resign his post at the Charité. Würzburg, however, was on the outlook for a professor of pathology and the post was offered to him and accepted in the autumn of 1849.

Before continuing the biography it is worth noting what had been the scientific activities of the first Berlin period, for they were many and all directed along a certain line. They were concerned mainly with diseases of the blood. He took up phlebitis or inflammation of veins and showed the relationship of the process to clotting within the circulation during life (thrombosis). He introduced the terms embolus, embolism and infarction, showing how a portion of the thrombus broken off constitutes the commonest type of embolus. This when it comes to rest causes embolism and in certain circumstances infarction. This last subject and the occurrence of "end arteries" was further elucidated by his pupil Cohnheim. He showed further how thrombi became infected, underwent softening and gave rise to pyæmia. He distinguished the latter condition from leukæmia.

In 1841 Hughes Bennett of Edinburgh described as leucocythæmia a condition of the blood resembling suppuration and which he thought was pus in the blood. A few weeks later in the same year Virchow described a case of what he called Leukæmia, white blood or in German "weisses blut" which he distinguished from pyæmia, pointing out the characteristic changes in the blood-forming organs in the former condition. Although Virchow gets credit and rightly for distinguishing the two diseases, pyæmia and leukæmia, from one another, one cannot help thinking that Bennett's name—leucocythæmia, although a longer one, is a better one, suggesting as it does the great increase in the circulating white blood cells. After all, although often pale in colour, the blood in leukæmia cannot under any circumstances be described as white.

His activities at Würzburg were wider in range, including researches on phthisis, cretinism, typhoid fever, cholera, the formation of adipocere in dead bodies, the anatomy of the nail and epidermis, congenital hydronephrosis, hyatids of the liver, amyloid degeneration of lymph glands, etc. He edited a handbook of Special Pathology, and collaborated with Vögel in a

small manual on General Pathology. In this last were to be found the germs of his great work on Cellular Pathology.

The man was too big to be ignored and Berlin soon realized its mistake in hounding him out. In 1856 came an invitation to return to the capital as Professor of Pathology. Immersed in his work, he was in no haste to accept, and he stipulated that before he would agree to take up his duties a new institute for practical work should be built. On his arrival he set to work at once to improve his department. The pathological museum at that time contained only some 1,500 preparations. At the time of his 80th birthday celebration it was estimated that the number was 23,000.

In 1858 appeared his "Cellular Pathologie," the work which created the science of modern pathology. Now, like many another reformer, Virchow found the ground well prepared. He developed his cell theory of disease on the basis of the work of Schleiden and Schwann. The material was there. It needed but the artist hand of a great master to gather the scattered threads and weave therefrom the fabric of a new science which was to revolutionize the world of medicine.

Although Robert Hooke had seen plant cells in 1665 by the aid of the microscope, it was not until 1838 that Schleiden promulgated a cell theory for plants. Robert Brown in 1831 had indeed seen the cell nucleus, but he had mistaken its nature. Then in 1838 Schwann made the cell theory more comprehensive by extending it to animal tissues. He also attached due importance to the nucleus and showed that there was a gradual differentiation of cells in the process of development of the embryo. But both Schleiden and Schwann believed that the cell wall was the essential structure controlling all processes, that this cell wall contained a fluid "plant slime" and that new cells arose by a sort of crystallization from a formative "mother liquor" or "cystoblastema" which surrounded the cells. In 1846 Hugo von Mohl applied the term "proto plasm" to the "plant slime" of Schleiden.

Virchow's first contribution to the question was to controvert the notion of a cystoblastema from which new cells could arise. He gave origin to the famous aphorism "omnis cellula e cellula." All cells arise only from pre-existing cells. He went further to state that the cell was the unit of life: life is the

expression of the activities of the cell. These activities are evoked by stimuli which reach the cell from without. The activities of the cells individually or collectively are physiological or normal so long as the general equilibrium of the organism is not disturbed. When this limit is overstepped they become pathological, disease appears. The cell is the unit of diseased life as it is the unit of normal life. The diseased cell is the same as the normal cell and derived from normal cells and every morbid process consists of cells which are not new, but have been derived from pre-existing cells as a progeny. As Lord Lister put it, "Even those morbid structures which deviate most from the normal structure are known to be derived as a progeny from normal tissues—from normal cells, driven to abnormal development by injurious agencies."

This theory received a very general acceptance. There was opposition and Virchow attacked his opponents with true Teutonic virulence. But as microscopic investigation extended and developed the opposition became feebler and eventually died away.

It is appropriate to turn to Virchow, the teacher, at this his most active period. We have a vivid picture from one of his pupils, Dr. Andrew H. Smith, given at the Virchow dinner in New York, October 12, 1901. It describes conditions as they existed in 1858, the year of the publication of the great book. He was not a great lecturer. A small man, he had also a small voice. His language was simple and he never indulged in the involved sentences so common in German. He was a great snuff-taker and the snuff-mill was frequently in requisition during the lecture. He had great facility with the blackboard and he interspersed his remarks with injunctions to the students to hold the specimens which were handed round right way up and not spoil the cement by splashing alcohol on the lid. He could be very fierce, this little grey man, and he was held in great awe by his pupils. He had a way of pushing his spectacles up on his forehead and fixing his piercing gaze on the individual before him.

The picture of his practical class is interesting. The table at which the students sat was long and arranged so that a microscope (a simple one enlarging only to 350 diameters) could be sent round the class carrying a preparation

which he then proceeded to draw on the board and describe. Before the first microscope had reached the last student another was on its way round. The reagents used were simple: sulphuric acid and iodine for testing for amyloid, silver nitrate for demonstrating the outline of cells, acetic acid for clearing the cell protoplasm and carmine for staining purposes. Microtomes existed but were seldom used and the elaborate stains of the present day were unknown. With such simple instruments did Virchow carry out his work. Most of it was done with unfixed fresh tissues, untreated and unstained.

In the post-mortem room he was probably seen at his best. The single accurate sweeping cut from above the sternum to the pubes, to open up the body cavities. His incisions with the knife were always free and straight. "Smooth, though wrong, incisions are better than correct and uneven ones," he was accustomed to say. The cutting through of the sterno-clavicular joint was always a crucial point. Any student who opened into the large veins of the neck was severely rebuked. A complete post-mortem was performed in each case. There was no stopping short satisfied with the discovery of the organ mainly affected by the disease.

But these activities occupied but the morning hours. The afternoons were taken up with the Reichstag, the City Council, the Finance Committee of the Prussian Diet; evening meetings of the medical and anthropological societies. With all this and his original papers and editorial work the marvel was how he found time for eating and sleeping. As regards sleep it was currently reported that he averaged five hours. Sir Felix Semon, who came to know him intimately, states that his family said it was often much less and that occasionally he was up working all night. Such effort it might be thought would lead to early wearing out of the bodily mechanism. But no, his 70th birthday came and went with great rejoicings. The fiftieth anniversaries of his editorship of the Archiv and of his tenure as professor was celebrated. Then his eightieth birthday arrived, and from all parts of the world came scientists to honour him; and when they couldn't come themselves they held dinners and toasted him in their principal cities. On his eightieth birthday he delivered without notes an address lasting nearly two hours, full of historical

data, giving his own views on the evolution of medicine as a science.

Of course, like all of us, he had his failings, and unpunctuality was one of these. Sir Felix Semon describes how he waited along with seven other candidates for examination for the doctor's degree for two mortal hours, clad, as is the German custom on such occasions, in full evening dress. He was very uncertain as to the hour of his lecture and it annoyed distinguished visitors to be kept waiting, and perhaps after all not hear the great man at all. But in view of his widespread activities this was not surprising, and much was forgiven a man of his unique abilities.

As an examiner he was not popular. He was fierce, sarcastic and rather unfair. Frequently a candidate had all the knowledge knocked out of him by the treatment he received. Sir Felix Semon described how after hours of bullying he retired convinced he was ploughed, only to find that he had passed well.

I have made no mention of his literary activities after the publication of the Cellular Pathologie. In 1863 and 1867 appeared volumes of his work on tumours. It was written on the same lines as his previous great work. Tumours arise from normal cells. Arising from cells of a certain type they breed true up to a certain point, producing cells of this type and none other. These tumours he classified on the basis still adopted—the basis of the type of tissue towards which they tend to develop. He placed the sarcomata for the first time in their proper position as mesoblastic or connective tissue, malignant growths. This work was unfortunately never completed.

As already stated, there was little evidence of mental failure in the later years. He was covered with honours and invitations to great functions poured in. He gave the Croonian Lecture to the Royal Society in 1893. He received the Copley medal in 1893. The Huxley lecture was delivered in 1898. All these addresses were given in English, and Sir Felix Semon tells us what a nuisance the old gentleman was in his determination to get just that turn of expression which would convey his meaning exactly. The wrangles took place right up to the very platform. Virchow was nothing if not exact.

He had his own views on general education and combatted Haeckel (Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft im Modernen Staat, 1887) when the latter wished to introduce the teaching of evolution into elementary schools. Virchow's argument was that the evolutionary theory was only an hypothesis not yet proven. He also wrote upon the thorny question of the education of women in a volume entitled Die Erziehung des Wiebes (1865). He took an active part in the organization of the ambulance service of the Prussian Army in the six weeks' war with Austria in 1866 and in the Franco-German war of 1870-71.

He made little secret of his contempt for the national religion. In his public addresses he confessed to an uncompromising agnosticism. He was particularly strong in his repudiation of a hell and a devil. "Only a benighted Mecklenburg pastor," he said, "could be so foolish as to believe in him."

His relations with his colleagues were good, but he was always ready with criticism of their work. When in 1891 Koch announced his Tuberculin cure for consumption, Virchow entered a protest. He pointed to the evidence of the active spread of the disease after treatment in his autopsies, and he warned the profession that the cure was dangerous. Again in 1901 at the very end of his life he criticized Koch's pronouncement on the infectiveness of bovine tuberculosis for the human subject. He had, he said, in his morbid anatomical experience seen similarities between tuberculous lesions in children and those seen in "Perlsucht" or bovine tuberculosis. The sequel was to show how pertinent was his criticism.

Like all great men he occasionally made mistakes. His theory of the causation of chlorosis—that it was due to a congenitally small aorta—is only mentioned now because it was Virchow's suggestion. He thought at one period that the cells of connective tissue were able to take part in pathological new growth of epithelial cells—an example of metaplasia which would be considered very heterodox in the present day.

Time does not permit me to detail his activities in the realm of anthropology and ethnology. As a matter of fact he published more papers on subjects connected with these sciences than on pathological subjects. He travelled widely

visiting the excavations on the sites of Troy and Mycenæ and writing two books on the subject. He also visited the Caucasus and Egypt.

With the possible exception of foreign travel Virchow had no relaxations. He never indulged in any form of sport. He worked hard during his so-called holidays. In spite of this he retained his vigour to the end. Descending from a Berlin car by himself when in his 82nd year, he fell and was unconscious for some time. On examination he was found to have fractured the neck of his femur. He took a keen interest in his own condition and speculated on the rate of osseous union. He recovered sufficiently to go about with the aid of a stick, and he was taken to the country. But a change was soon visible. He failed rapidly and died on September 5, 1902, of hypostatic pneumonia. His funeral was a worthy one, being attended by many dignitaries, and a letter was sent to his widow by the Kaiser condoling with her in her loss.

A writer in The Times newspaper, on the occasion of his death, thus characterizes him:

"He was always the same, whether shaking hands with royalty, accepting the respectful homage of an important deputation, packing up in his own house, or lecturing to the most scientific gathering in the world—always the simple little grey man, sincere, kindly, unassuming, absorbed in his subject, not himself, crammed with information, profound and penetrating in thought, plain in utterance, the embodiment of accurate knowledge and sound judgement, the true servant of truth."

At the time of his death he was a medical privy councillor. France had given him the Cross of a Commander of the Legion of Honour. Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh had honoured him with honorary degrees. He had many friends in England, including Lister, Sir James Paget, Huxley; and he had a great admiration for Britain on account of her liberal institutions and her great men, amongst whom he had a particular regard for the anatomists Goodsir and Glisson. His memory is enshrined in the literature of medicine, and preserved for succeeding generations of the German public in the great Berlin hospital which goes by his name.

JAMES MILLER.

THREE FOLK-SONGS OF FRENCH CANADA

(Translated by Edward Sapir)

I.

The Return of the Soldier Husband

One day the soldier comes to town,
One day the soldier comes to town,
His clothes in rags, his shoes are worn:
"Whence is it, soldier, you return?"

He sought him room within a tavern,
Sought him room within a tavern:
"Hostess, have you wine to drink?"
"And have you silver, man, to clink?"

"And as for silver, I've little enough,
And as for silver, I've little enough.
Take my old hat to pay for wine
And take this belt and cloak of mine."

And when he'd sat him down to table,
When he'd sat him down to table,
Filling glass and singing strong,
She wept to hear him sing the song.

"Oh what is wrong, my little hostess,
What is wrong, my little hostess?
Is it your wine that you regret,
The soldier drinking in your debt?"

"'Tis not my wine that I regret,
'Tis not my wine that I regret;
It is the lusty song that you
Are singing and my husband knew.

"I have a husband travelling,
I have a husband travelling;
He's been for seven years from me,
I well believe that you are he."

"Oh, wicked woman, be you still,
Oh, wicked woman, be you still!
I left two children in your care,
I see that four are playing there."

"Lying letters came to me,
Oh, lying letters came to me
To say that you were in the ground;
Another husband I have found."

"In Paris there's a mighty war,
In Paris there's a mighty war
And all the torturings of Hell.
My wife and children, fare you well!"

September 2, 1920.

II.

I Will Not Marry

Make for me a headless man
  And I shall pay your wizardry.
All the men are muddle-headed,
  Coming home from revelry.
    Refrain:
  What's the good of asking me?
    For I am young, I will not hurry.
  O what's the good of asking me?
    I will not, will not, will not marry.

And when I hear these other girls
A-chattering of marrying,
O then I say, "What folly, madness,
Prisoning in wedding ring!"
Refrain:
What's the good of asking me?
For I am young, I will not hurry.
O what's the good of asking me?
I will not, will not, will not marry.

First year passes quick enough,
Second somehow, anyhow,
Third is bickering and stuff,
Fourth is fisticuffs and row.
Refrain:
What's the good of asking me?
For I am young, I will not hurry.
O what's the good of asking me?
I will not, will not, will not marry.

March 17, 1920.

III.

The Trades

A devil came up from Demonland
To have a look around,
He came at Lucifer's command
To take what could be found
Of sundry trades that profit win.—
"With the grinding miller we'll begin
Who charges a double fee,
Step into the coach with me!

"Butcher selling dog and cat
For ox-meat and for cow,
A devil's come to have a chat,
Dear sir, your health is how?

Hurry a bit, with a hop and a skip,
Just for to take a little trip,
And leave your fricassee!
Step into the coach with me!

"Baker, the music has come to you!
Don't bother to finish the loaf.
You'd better leave your oven, too,
Your wretched floury stuff.
Your loaves that are tiny, tiny to eat,
Your half-done cakes that are all of a cheat,
And your pastry vinegary.
Step into the coach with me!

"Sutler, greedy rascal a-clinking,
Never mind your jokes.
You're on my list, is what I'm thinking,
I tell you it's not a hoax.
You sell us never a decent wine,
Intoxicate the world like swine
With water unsavory.
Step into the coach with me!

"Accursed merchants hereabouts,
For you I've a lovely place.
All your robberies—who doubts?—
Are written over your face.
You've a way of charging a four-fold rate,
Most of the time at half the weight
Or at half the capacity.
Step into the coach with me!

"O be not jealous, my furrier;
I'll pay you a visit too,
And I'll gnash my teeth the wrathfuller
For knowing the ways of you.
Selling such caps and muffs, O treason!
Out of shape and out of season,
Faded horribly.
Step into the coach with me!

Malevolent barber, maker of wigs,
Your attention I demand!
Your victims groan from the scratches and digs
Inflicted by your hand.
That razor, more than hatchet feared,
From many a face an innocent beard
Has hacked out savagely.
Step into the coach with me!

"Barrister, judge, attorney-at-law,
The devil is at your heels.
From the horriblest hell you ever saw
Is but seven turns of my wheels.
From your wearisome oaths and wearisome pleadings,
Sentences and court proceedings,
Earth delivered be!
Step into the coach with me!

"You'll be forgotten never a bit,
My doctor of medicine.
You care for the sick like a hypocrite
With smiling words and thin.
Your remedies are good for little,
But showing the easy way to settle
Down to eternity.
Step into the coach with me!

'Tis not a difficult thing to find
A-plenty of this rabble;
There's an endless troop of the wicked kind—
O little room's the trouble.
Is it all of you wish to come inside?
Is it all of you straight to the fireside
Of Hell must riding be?
Ah, no! no more with me!"

July 12, 1919.

FIRST DAYS OF BRITISH RULE IN CANADA.

FORTUNE, in casting upon Great Britain the duty of establishing relations with French Canadians, and of organizing some form of administration for her new dependency, at the same time provided her with two great advantages in the undertaking she was obliged to assume. In stage phrase, these advantages may be described as of setting and of dramatis personae.

The setting was furnished by the last French administrator. Bigot, Intendant of Justice, Finance and Police in New France, for ten years prior to the Conquest, wrought in his charge with a single eye to the advancement of his own fortunes. Nothing that fraud and oppression might achieve was left unattempted, in his efforts to accomplish his aims. His Master in France from whom he received his commission, and the people, whose lives and interests were entrusted to his care, were equally the victims of his rapacity. Army supplies, and the grain and cattle of the habitant, were exploited with perfect impartiality. Upon him more than upon all other agencies combined rests the responsibility for the loss of the Colony by France. He left in the hands of the people nothing but sheaves of paper money, utterly valueless, until the British Government insisted on its partial redemption. At the moment of the conquest, the people were in black despair. Looking backward, they saw only Bigot and his satellites. The future held out nothing that was reassuring. The British soldier was sedulously represented to them as an implacable monster, deaf to the cry for mercy; and, indeed, the devastation of his fields, and the burning of his houses and barns in the course of the campaign, seemed to furnish grounds for his worst fears.

But his first encounters with the troops came to the Canadian with a shock. The Tommy Atkins of that day was not very different from his successors, whom we all know. Within a few weeks after Quebec was taken, private soldiers were seen in the fields, helping the habitant to get in his grain, and

refusing with a laugh the pay which was offered to him; and officers and men alike contributed a day's pay every month to relieve the prevailing distress. This brings us to the second advantage which Great Britain held in her first dealings with the Canadians, the advantage of dramatis personae. Although the whole territory from Quebec down the St. Lawrence to the eastern boundaries of the Colony was in the hands of the British troops from September 18, 1759, five days after Wolfe's victory on the Plains, and all the remainder of the country from September 8, 1760, when the French governor capitulated to General Amherst, it was not until August 10, 1764, that a regular civil government was erected in Canada.

During those periods, of nearly five years in the one case and of four years in the other, the sole government of Canada was that administered by military officers in Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, under the supreme direction of the mander-in-chief, who was stationed in New York. The government was carried on without reference to the authorities in London, who knew next to nothing of what was being done in the newly occupied country. But we are fortunate enough to possess in the Canadian Archives, the contemporary records of these local military governments.

A study of these records, as well as of such French Canadian testimony as has come down to us, leaves no doubt of the success, in Canada, of a form of government universally held in abhorrence. On the day following the capitulation, Amherst in a General Order, after thanking the troops for their services, expressed his confidence that the troops would not disgrace themselves by the least appearance of inhumanity, as the Canadians had now become British subjects, and would feel the good effects of His Majesty's protection; and two weeks later, in some words addressed to the French Canadians in their own language, Amherst said to them that, as it had been specially enjoined on the troops to live with the habitants in harmony and good fellowship, he recommended the habitant to receive and treat the troops as brothers and fellow-citizens. These injunctions were laid to heart by both. The Canadians were relieved to find that their anticipations were so happily disappointed, and the troops proceeded to make themselves

entirely at home. Many married Canadian girls, and settled down in complete content. The numerous Macdonalds, Frasers, MacKays, Bains, and MacMillans with their fluent French and halting English, are living testimonies of the breadth and depth of the goodwill which prevailed among the erstwhile enemies.

The leading French Canadians in a protest to the British Government against the removal of General Murray declared that "for four years we enjoyed the greatest tranquillity." "Mr. Murray, has up to the present time, at the head of the Military Council administered to us all the justice that we could have expected from the most enlightened jurists. This could hardly have been otherwise, disinterestedness and equity being the basis of their decisions." Senator Chapais concluded an exhaustive study of this period, in these words: "The Military Government was finished. It was, indeed, little military except in name. Our civil laws were maintained, our language and customs respected, and our fathers were called upon to submit to fewer injustices than they had to endure under the regime which succeeded, and which, nevertheless, is called in our history, 'civil government.' "

With the goodwill which pervaded the community there was another circumstance, which did much to promote the tranquillity which the Canadians signalized in the address just mentioned. The Canadians and the troops were strikingly alike in one particular, which above all contributes to harmony. They were both devoid of what may be called the political mind. Both were accustomed to live under orders. They cared nothing about participating in the selection of their rulers, or in the making of the laws, and were content with the rulers and laws, which were given to them, so long as these were neither unjust nor oppressive. They would have agreed heartily with Pope's dictum:

> "For forms of government let fools contest,
> Whate'er is best administered is best."

To this temper of mind, the mixture of paternalism and laissez-faire which seems to be the secret of the British governing mind, was quite satisfactory. In the courts of first instance

in Montreal and Three Rivers, the presiding judges were all French Canadians.

From the early days of the French regime, the men of the colony, between the ages of 16 and 60, were enrolled in the militia. The men of each parish were summoned, drilled and led to war by an officers chosen from among their number, and known as the Captain of Militia. Although of habitant origin, he would naturally be a man of superior qualities, and it came to be the practice of the authorities to employ these captains in a variety of capacities, which had no relation to their military duties. The Intendant, in particular, required from them the services which are now entrusted to bailiffs. It was these captains of militia whom the British Governors chose to constitute their courts. In the proclamation published two weeks after the capitulation, Amherst, with a view to the amicable settlement of the differences that would arise among the inhabitants, charged the captains of militia to listen to all complaints, and, if they could do so, to remove them with all due justice and equity. If, for any reason, the captains felt themselves unequal to dispose of a case, they were to take the parties before the officer commanding the troops of the district. There was a final appeal to the governor. The idea, thus far realized, soon developed. Courts were set up at convenient places throughout the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers, in which the presiding judges were a body of those officers of militia. From them appeals lay to a court of military officers, with, as before, an ultimate recourse to the governor.

The arrangements for the administration of justice in the government of Quebec were somewhat different. Murray, a short time after the conquest, appointed Canadian notaries to judgeships in the several districts, but, after a year's trial, he abandoned this scheme, and erected a court at Quebec, which was made to serve the whole government which extended eastward as far as the present boundaries with New Brunswick.

Some of the records of all these courts have been preserved. The cases, as was to be expected in such communities, were simple, demanding for their settlement common sense and good judgement, rather than a knowledge of the techni-

calities of the law, and the decisions as recorded satisfy one's sense of justice. In the general administration of affairs, the governors simply continued the French system, which had been in operation for over a century. Local matters were regulated by a set of ordinances, issued by the governors, and which were in general mere reproductions of the ordinances of the French intendant. The whole work of government in the three districts was carried on in French. It is only in this language that we have the records of the courts. In the Quebec court, which was composed of seven British officers, the proceedings are all set down in French. The only words in the records which indicate that the cases in the Quebec government were heard before English officers, are the names of the officers themselves.

A sense of the troublous times that immediately succeeded this period, inclines one to linger a little over the *Règne Militaire.* Its importance in our history, however, may be overrated. It laid the foundations for a certain mutual esteem and, in many cases, affection, which the long period of conflict that followed strained to the uttermost but did not entirely destroy; and it made it clear that there was no such temperamental incompatibility as would keep Canadians and British inevitably asunder. These results are not trifling. But a little reflection will convince one that Canada, as we know it, could never have developed out of the conditions which prevailed during the *Règne Militaire.* As between the two races this was but the courting time. But the Treaty of Paris which was signed on February 10, 1763, was in effect a marriage; and the attempt to set up a common household, in which the aspirations of each craved for realization, revealed divergences so wide that the best efforts on both sides, from that day to this, still leave a gap which can only be bridged by faith and hope.

The first measures taken for the establishment of a regular civil government disclosed not only the exceeding difficulty of the problem demanding solution, but the inadequacy of those in power to deal with it. At this time the population of Canada included, in addition to the French Canadians and the British troops, a number of civilians, who had been coming

into the country ever since the Conquest. Some of them were either British merchants or their agents, who had contracts for army supplies; others were Americans, who had been invited by Amherst to bring supplies to make up the shortage of provisions from which the Canadians were suffering. Others, again, came because they thought they saw in Canada a field for their enterprise. To these people, military rule was anathema. They were moved to hatred by the peremptory orders, which the Canadians and the troops accepted without resentment, and it was with repugnance that they saw themselves obliged to take their suits before a court of military officers, who made no pretence to knowledge of commercial law, instead of having disputed facts established by the well-accustomed jury. Their one hope lay in the introduction of a regular government, with its restoration to them of the rights and privileges of British subjects. They would have their laws made by popularly elected assemblies, not by a governor and council, both of whom were appointed by the King. And the Canadians would be made to feel the difference between the conqueror and conquered. Indeed, their conduct was marked by all that arrogance that so galls the self-respect of those against whom it is directed.

But, though numerically insignificant, these old British subjects occupied a place of great importance in the community. All the wholesale trade of the country was in their hands, and their connexions with the mercantile interests in London enabled them to exert great pressure on the government. Governor Murray, who had a feud with them which led to his downfall, referred to them as passengers, rather than settlers, men who had been brought to the country by motives of self-interest, and who would stay no longer than those motives had influence. But the Governor was wrong. These men had come to stay. Many of the great commercial houses in Montreal can trace their origin to these early comers They were strong men, whose patriotism was marred by more than a touch of narrowness and self-interest. Some of the later governors complained that their tasks would have been appreciably lighter if the English residents had abated some of their patriotic zeal.

These men were the elements in the population to which the attempt at civil government was to be applied. The military element declined rapidly in importance, and, in a few years, the society of Canada consisted of, and alas! was divided into, French and English. With a society so composed, a struggle for supremacy between its two sections was inevitable, but, unfortunately and perhaps needlessly, it was precipitated by the first act of the British Government. The task imposed on the British Government by the treaty of 1763 was stupendous. Before the Seven Years War, England's possessions in North America were limited to the old colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, Nova Scotia, and the undefined territories of the Hudson's Bay Company. Canada and the great hinterland in the west belonged to either France or Spain. As a result of the treaty, the whole continent, with practically unreachable exceptions, became British, and the first duty of the Ministry was to provide suitable forms of government for the several parts of the newly acquired territory.

Canada, under French rule, comprised a vast stretch of country extending from the Straits of Belle Isle to the indefinite West. A comparatively small portion was settled, all the remainder to the east, north and west being Indian country. It was decided by the British government to confine the limits of the new province, which was to be called Quebec, to include merely the part which had been under settlement by the French. Its eastern boundary was fixed at the west or hither end of Anticosti; its western, at a point near the present boundary between Ontario and Quebec; while its northern boundary was a line drawn easterly from the southern end of Lake Nipissing along the head waters of the rivers emptying into the St. Lawrence. The chief merit of the limited area lay in its manageableness. The King's writ would run without much difficulty anywhere within those limits, and the inhabitants of Canada would be discouraged in any attempts they might make to wander into the interior, by the fact that they were passing outside the protection of the laws.

The Lords of Trade, in reporting their opinion as to the most suitable form of government for the new province, stated that it seemed to them that "the chief objects of any new form

of government to be erected in that country ought to be to secure the ancient inhabitants in all the titles, rights and privileges granted to them by treaty, and to increase as much as possible the number of British and other new Protestant settlers."

This is admirable, and gained the immediate assent of the Government; but, unfortunately, this was a period when governments changed rapidly, and shortly after this opinion was given Lord Shelburne, its author, retired, and was replaced as head of the Board of Trade by Lord Hillsborough, a man of quite inferior stamp. He grasped at and emphasized the second of Shelburne's recommendations as to the necessity of increasing the number of British and other foreign settlers, and ignored entirely the one which assumed that the ancient inhabitants should be secured in all the titles, rights and privileges granted to them by treaty. The consequence was that the royal proclamation was, on this side, a mere immigration pamphlet, addressed to British and other Protestant peoples. It promised a government after the model of those in the older colonies, and, until a House of Assembly could be elected, it gave a pledge that all who came and settled in Canada should have the benefit of the laws of England.

The commission to the Governor and the accompanying instructions, being drawn up by the same hand, were infused with the same spirit. The Governor was directed in his commission, which was at once published, to call an assembly elected by the people, as soon as the circumstances of the Province would permit. The choice of members was limited to those who would take the oath against popery—which would exclude the whole body of the people from representation by members of their own nationality, and leave the making of the laws governing the lives and fortunes of 80,000 people in the hands of the representatives of less than 200. The English merchants were elated when they were made aware of the terms of the Proclamations and of the orders to the Governor to prepare for the election of an assembly. Indeed, there was that in the proceedings of the Home Government on this occasion which the uncharitable might denounce as chicanery. The commission, which was published through-

out the land, gave no hint that the Government had in contemplation an intermediate period, in which the affairs of the country would be carried on without the assistance of representatives of the people. But the Instructions to the Governor, which were addressed to him personally, and which were not published at all, contained these words, "But as it may be impracticable for the present to form such an establishment, you are in the mean time to make such rules and regulations, by the advice of our said Council, as shall appear to be necessary for the peace, order and good government of our said Province." In other words, it directed that, for a certain indefinite period, the Province should be governed by the Governor and an appointed Council, and that during that period the people should have no influence in the Government through their elected representatives.

The old British subjects were impatient to have a government in which they should have a voice. Barely two months after civil government was established, the first grand jury which was struck declared, in the course of a lengthy presentment, that as they were at that time the only representative body in the Colony, they, as British subjects, had a right to be consulted before any ordinance affecting the body they represented was passed into a law, and that, to prevent all abuses, embezzlements or wrong application of public money, they would propose that the public accounts be laid before the Grand Jury, at least every six months, in order that they might be audited. To the Governor and Council all this savoured of strong presumption, and, indeed, one cannot feel that, in their dealings with the Canadians, the views of the new British population were likely to err on the side of generosity. But the Englishman had enough right on his side to entitle him to be disappointed in its not being recognized. He had the delusion, common at that time, that an Englishman travelling anywhere within the Empire carried with him the laws of England, much as he carried his umbrella; and when, as in this case, he found his sentiment supported by a pledge made to him by his sovereign, he was fully justified in his insistence.

But if the representative assembly had to wait for a more

propitious season, the Englishman had no ground for complaint as to the laws he was called upon to obey. A superior court was erected in Quebec, which was presided over by a Chief Justice who was a member of the English bar; and the laws that reigned were the laws of England and the local legislature. In all trials, Canadians as well as old British subjects were admitted on juries, without distinction. This court was English to a point probably not intended by its originator, for neither the Chief Justice nor the Attorney-General understood a word of French.

But it was impossible to leave the vast proportion of the population without a tribunal in which their disputes could be heard and determined; and the Governor, with many misgivings that he might be transgressing the terms of his instructions, set up a lower court called the Court of Common Pleas for the express use of the Canadians. Three judges were appointed to preside in this court—an army surgeon, an army officer, both British, and a French Protestant merchant. They were directed to determine the cases brought before them, according to equity, having a general regard for the laws of England. They knew nothing of law, either English or French, but they all understood the French language well. As French lawyers pleaded before them, and they knew no English law, it is clear that such law as crept into the decisions of this court was French law. Indeed, the two English judges applied themselves at once to the study of French law, in which they were doubtless assisted, though perhaps not quite disinterestedly, by the Canadian lawyers who appeared before them.

The first clash between English and French arose over this court. The Grand Jury mentioned deplored its creation as "tiresome, litigious and expensive to this poor colony"; and they went on to declare their belief that "the admitting persons of the Roman Religion, who own the authority, supremacy and jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, as jurors, is an open violation of our most sacred laws and liberties, and tending to the utter subversion of the Protestant religion and His Majesty's power, authority, right and possession of the Province to which we belong." The Canadians took up the challenge

thus thrown down, with commendable spirit. There was an immediate protest from the Canadians on the Grand Jury, who had signed the presentment in ignorance of its contents. The Court of Common Pleas they declared to be a "sanctuary, in which they might be judged as Frenchmen by Frenchmen, according to ancient customs, and in their own tongue." They also represented the injustice of depriving them of the rights they enjoyed as British subjects, because they had been born and brought up as Roman Catholics, saying that "the leniency of the existing government had made them forget their losses, and had attached them to His Majesty and to the Government; while their fellow-citizens made them feel their condition to be that of slaves." This protest to Governor Murray was followed up by a strong plea to the King, which was signed by all the leading Canadians. Maintaining the same general line, they ask "who would wish to have us proscribed? About 30 English merchants, 15 of whom are settled here. Who are the proscribed? Ten thousand heads of families who feel nothing but submission to Your Majesty." And, again, "What would become of the general prosperity of the Colony, if those who form the principal section thereof became incapable members of it, through difference of religion? How would justice be administered, if those who understand neither our language nor our customs should become our judges, through the medium of interpreters?"

But the Canadians were not alone with their humble petitions at the foot of the Throne. The British merchants in Canada, supported by their mercantile associates in London, made a vigorous presentation of their grievances, due to the various transgressions and shortcomings of the Governor, and demanded his recall. They also pleaded for a House of Assembly, alleging that there was a number more than sufficient of loyal and well affected Protestants to form a competent and respectable House. Governor Murray, conceiving that the experience he had gained in the Colony would be helpful in enabling the Ministry to deal judiciously with the divergent pleas to the King, wrote a letter to the Lords of Trade giving his views of the situation. Murray had many virtues, but they were of a sort that would win applause in the camp rather

than in the Cabinet. He was an energetic partisan of those who placed themselves under his care, and in the description of the merits of his friends or the failings of his enemies his feelings had at least as much play as his judgement. Of the two sections of the population, he said, "Little, very little, will content the new subjects, but nothing will satisfy the licentious fanatics trading here but the expulsion of the Canadians, who are perhaps the bravest and best race upon the Globe."

Murray had many reasons for disliking the civilians under his authority. Shortly after the Conquest, American dealers were invited to bring their wares to Canada, to make up the deficiencies in food and other things essential to life. But they had not been long in the country when he was threatening them with expulsion on account of the extortionate prices they charged for the commodities they brought with them. In the memorial in which they demanded his recall, they charged him with unnecessary interference with their trade; with enacting ordinances which they described as "vexatious, oppressive, unconstitutional, injurious to civil liberty and the Protestant cause; with treating them with a rage and rudeness of language as dishonourable to his trust as painful to those who suffer from it; and with the discountenancing the Protestant religion by an almost total neglect of attendance on Church service." Murray replied vigorously to those and other charges, and succeeded in convincing the Ministry that they were groundless.

When the state of things in Canada brought about by the ill-considered Proclamation was learned in England, it aroused a storm of indignation. Lord Mansfield asked in amazement: "Is it possible that we have abolished their laws, and customs, and forms of judicature all at once? a thing never to be attempted or wished. The history of the world don't furnish an instance of so rash and unjust an act by any conqueror whatsoever; much less by the Crown of England, which has always left to the conquered their own laws and usages, with a change only so far as the sovereignty was concerned." Lord Thurlow said: "I take it to be an act of the grossest and absurdest and cruelest tyranny, that a conquering nation ever practised over a conquered country." Lord Hillsborough, who

as President of the Board of Trade was responsible for the Proclamation, and the Governor's commission and instructions, endeavoured to shift the blame to the shoulders of Governor Murray and his legal advisers. He declared that in framing the Proclamation "it never entered our idea to overturn the laws and customs of Canada, with regard to property, but that justice should be administered agreeable to them." A charge of injustice to the Canadians bore very hardly on Murray, who was not only their friend, but even their partisan. But he conceived that the plain words of the document left him no choice. In setting up the Court of Common Pleas for the Canadians he greatly feared that he had exceeded his instructions, and entered into an elaborate plea to justify his action. But Murray's explanations were not heeded. The Ministry desired to know why he had abolished the French laws and customs. On looking over the ordinance creating the courts, they could discover nowhere an indication that these had been saved to the Canadians. The court, which was established specifically for their benefit, was directed to give its decisions, not according to the old laws and customs, but according to equity, having regard, nevertheless, to the laws of England. They did not understand, nor was Murray at pains to let them know, that in practice the Canadians had nothing to complain of. Nor had they complained. They were justly apprehensive of what might happen, if the views of the Grand Jury prevailed, but they expressed gratitude for the provisions made for the determinations of their suits at law.

But the Ministry were as anxious to repair the injustice done by the Proclamation and the Governor's commission as they had been careless in the preparation of those documents. Indeed, there was danger that they would be swung by their sympathies too far in the other direction, and neglect the interests of the British-born subjects, who, though objectionable from their aggressiveness and intolerance, had acquired undoubted rights, based on the pledge given to them in the Proclamation, that they might confide in the protection of the laws of England. The Ministry had created a difficult position for themselves, and looked to the Law Officers of the Crown for

guidance on to clear ground. Their first question to these officers was as to whether the English penal laws directed against the Roman Catholics in Great Britain, applied to the Roman Catholics of Canada. To their great relief the Ministry was informed that in the opinion of the Law Officers the English penal laws were not applicable in Canada. The Law Officers were then requested to examine the Ordinance creating the Courts in Canada and submit, if necessary, a system of law adapted to conditions in Canada.

The Law Officers condemned the Governor's ordinance in many of its parts, and recommended that it be put aside altogether. They drew up a scheme for a judicial system, and then applied themselves to the knotty questions as to what body of laws should govern in Canada. To begin with, they proposed that the Criminal laws of England should be adopted. This much was, indeed, scarcely questioned by the Canadians. Such objections as they made had to do with the difficulty of blending into one system the parts of two different systems. But there was every reason for believing that the Canadians would not be discontented by the adoption of the English Criminal laws.

In civil actions there was a large number in which the maxims of law were the same amongst civilized nations. Such were the numerous classes named compendiously breaches of contract. In these cases, no injustice would be done, if judges applied these universal maxims to the cases brought before them.

But there was a class of cases in which it was of the essence of justice that the ancient laws of the country should retain their full vigour, and that British subjects coming to Canada should conform thereto, as they conform to the local laws in force in the several parts of the United Kingdom. These were the laws relating to the titles of land, its descent, alienation and encumbrances. The social system of every community is based on its land laws, and any sudden drastic change in these would occasion infinite confusion and injustice. The propositions of the Law Officers were considered in Council, and met with general approval. There was one great officer, however, who refused to listen to them, and his un-

compromising stand not only wrecked the scheme, but brought about the downfall of the government, which supported it. The Lord Chancellor declared, truly enough, that nothing had come from Canada to indicate that they were suffering from the suppression of their laws, or that the plans propounded would be satisfactory to Canadians. Until he had more light on these points, he would not consent to have the proposed scheme put in operation. The disagreement led to the resignation of the Lord Chancellor, and the dismissal of the Rockingham Ministry by the King. In the cabinet which succeeded, the Lord Chancellor was reappointed; and on the Canada question coming up for consideration, he renewed his objection, and at his instance an official was sent to Canada to study the several questions at first hand and to take back with him reports from the Governor and the Law Officer in Quebec.

After a stay of eighteen months in the Province, this officer, who was private secretary to Lord Shelburne, the Colonial Secretary, drew up an elaborate report, containing profoundly interesting information as to the system of laws in operation during the French period, and recommending the perpetuation, in large measure, of those laws. He also took with him the reports of the Governor, the Chief Justice, and the Attorney-General. With all this material before them, the Ministry, with true British thoroughness, set about the elaboration of a scheme which would be satisfactory to both sections of the population. They sent the papers, in turn, to the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General and the Advocate-General, with instructions to each to prepare a scheme which in his view would meet the conditions in Canada.

Each of these great officers made an exhaustive study of the documents submitted to him, and each made a report containing his views as to the system of laws proper to be adopted for use in Canada. Needless to say, each recommendation differed in important particulars from the other two.

The Cabinet then took the question into their consideration, and, as may well be believed, found themselves confronted and encumbered by an *embarras de richesses*.. The Under Secretary of State says that having perused the several papers

they were compelled to set aside all the various schemes proposed, and to prepare one of their own. Their task was to satisfy two different and apparently irreconcilable sets of interests. The French Canadians demanded the system of laws known as the Custom of Paris; the English inhabitants demanded the fulfilment of the Royal pledge given on their behalf, which had induced them to settle in the country. But a study of the actual conditions indicated a means by which the apparently irreconcilable might be reconciled, and both interests satisfied. The essence of the Canadian demand was that they should have such parts of the old laws as were necessary for the preservation of their old social system, in other words, the domestic laws. The vital concern of the English was the assurance of the English commercial laws. Draft after draft was submitted to the Cabinet, until there finally emerged the bill that expressed their ideas, and which when enacted is the well known Quebec Act of 1774.

It may be supposed that, with objects so definite, the Cabinet would have no difficulty in framing a form of words that would enable those objects to be realized. But this was not the case. Although they desired to establish the Commercial laws of England in Canada, they were quite ignorant as to what parts of those laws would be applicable in a new country like Canada. The Commercial laws of England were the growth of centuries, and had been gradually adapted to the needs of the most highly developed commercial system in the world. As an instance of the unsuitability of the whole body of the English Commercial laws to Canada, a strong protest was made by the merchants in Canada themselves against the introduction of the Bankruptcy laws, which they declared would work infinite injury in the country. In order to meet this difficulty, they proposed to leave the selection of the laws desirable to the commercial community, to the Governor and Council, several of whose members were large merchants. The case was the same with the Habeas Corpus Act. The Act in force in England had been enacted in the reign of Charles II, and it was thought that it might contain provisions not adapted to conditions in the new possession. The plan finally settled upon was to pass an Act, introducing the whole body

of the civil law of French Canada, and to make provision for needed amendments of this Act by the Governor and Council in Canada. In transmitting the Act to the Governor, the Colonial Secretary accompanied it with a set of instructions, in which, *inter alia,* he directed the Governor to lay this part of his instructions before the Council, and to require them to investigate which parts of the Commercial Laws of England might advantageously be adopted in Canada He also directed that a Habeas Corpus Act be enacted, declaring that "security to personal liberty is a fundamental principle of Justice in all free governments, and the making due provision for that purpose is an object the legislature ought never to lose sight of."

This well-matured and beneficent scheme for meeting the requirements of the several interests in the Colony was never given a trial. The Governor at once put into operation the whole body of French laws, formerly in force in Canada, but disobeyed his instructions to take measures to introduce either the Habeas Corpus, or such parts of the English commercial laws as would be of advantage to the commerce of the country. It is usually pleaded, on behalf of Governor Carleton, that the imminence of the struggle which resulted in the independence of the older English Colonies, made it inexpedient to jeopardize the good will of the French Canadians by any breach in the solid body of their Civil laws; and that the English merchants had already indicated their sympathy with American views. The plea will not hold. The English merchants in Quebec and Montreal were, as I have described them, exceedingly tenacious of their rights as Englishmen, and these rights had been confirmed to them by the Royal pledge. But there was no reason at this time to charge them with disloyalty. That many of them, embittered by this slap in the face and by the violation of the King's word, came to espouse the cause of the Americans is not surprising, nor should it, in my opinion, be made a ground of reproach. They were caught up in the whirlwind which swept over a continent, and the Government in Canada had done all it could to paralyse their disposition to resist that pressure. As for the Canadian seigneurs, they had no just grounds on which to rest a grievance. They had been given the whole body of laws affecting their interests.

Trade was a peculiarly British interest, and if Carleton had shown a determination to protect both classes, English and French, I am persuaded he would have earned additional respect from the Canadians. That was certainly the view of the British Government, pressed again and again on the Governor.

Governor Carleton has many titles to the veneration of Canadians. His administration in its every part exhibited a lofty disinterestedness that shines by contrast with much that was sordid at that period. There was no mistaking his affection for, and his constant desire to promote, what he considered to be the best interests of the country. But the course he pursued, in regard to the Quebec Act, was not among those things calculated to conserve those interests.

What might have been done towards ameliorating the conditions created by the partial application of the Quebec Act, had not the rebellion in the older Colonies everywhere darkened counsel, is matter for speculation. Carleton resigned in 1778, and was succeeded by General Haldimand, a man of the highest character, but whose whole career from boyhood was that of the professional soldier. Under his stern regime dissatisfaction and confusion reigned throughout the Province. The incoming of the Loyalists in 1784 gave rise to a new situation, with which the British Government dealt by the Act of 1791. By this Act two Provinces were erected, Upper and Lower Canada, and Pitt's experiment of furnishing French Canadians with an example of government among British people of approved loyalty and ample experience was given a trial, which extended over half a century.

WILLIAM SMITH.

Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

CURRENT EVENTS.

The General Election of 1921.

There is little that is arresting in the results of the recent Federal elections. As was freely predicted, the new House will be composed of three groups, none of which has an absolute majority. Liberal gains were somewhat more numerous than any but those with a sixth political sense had expected, while the Progressive position in Ontario proved less strong than the results of the last Provincial election had indicated. That the Meighen government would suffer decisive defeat had been a foregone conclusion. Yet though the outcome was not striking, or unexpected, there is much in it which is significant.

General elections are held in order that the voice of the electorate may be heard, yet rarely do the results give full and clear expression to the popular will. Always there is a considerable number of citizens (both before and after the extension of the franchise) who have no conviction on the issues to be decided. The platforms of opposing parties evade rather than define issues, and the popular mind is seldom made up by the publicity, persuasion, and prejudice of an election campaign.

On none of the alleged issues of the campaign was a clear mandate given. In regard to the tariff, with characteristic courage and frankness Mr. Meighen and Mr. Crerar defined their positions in terms simple enough to present a clean-cut issue to the electorate. Mr. King, with political sagacity or perforce, took middle ground, very loosely defined. What his position lost in logic it gained in political strength. Apparently popular opinions on the tariff, except in the West, were as ill-defined as Mr. King's position. The largest group of electors appears to have little conviction on the tariff except that Mr. Fielding is to be trusted. Legislators are not the only members of the body politic with a tendency, as a national leader is reported to have said, to "pass the buck."

Though the "railway question" is glibly spoken of, yet

there is no railway *question* but a multitude of problems to the solution of which popular judgement can give little aid. Officially all parties are agreed on national ownership and operation, and it will be long before any party, whatever the inclination of its leaders, will dare to embrace the only alternative which has so far been suggested, viz., private ownership of railway assets and government acceptance of railway liabilities. The pressing railway problem is an administrative problem. To its solution Mr. Crerar contributed a number of wise suggestions. There is at present, however, no broad question of policy which a general election can decide. Only years of patient and unglorified economy, firm administration, and not a little boldness in preparing for and stimulating the traffic increases which the return of industrial prosperity will bring, can solve the present difficulty. The results of that work, the public will praise or blame, but popular judgement can contribute little or nothing to railway policy.

Imperial problems are many and grave. They received scant attention from any of the three leaders (the present Premier least of all), and none from an electorate deplorably ignorant of the trend of constitutional development within the Empire.

In truth, though the recently installed government may claim a mandate for this or that policy, it has received a mandate only for some political housecleaning and for careful, efficient administration, together with general instructions to recapture the prosperity of the Laurier regime. To a peculiar degree the result of the election reflects not *policies but conditions.*

The most notable feature of that result is the appearance of groups in the Federal House, not such groups as always exist on the fringes of political parties, but large groups of not unequal power. To some extent, these groups are based upon economic differences; to a greater extent they are based upon regional differences. From Ottawa east, the Liberal ranks are almost unbroken. The prairies are as solidly Progressive. The Conservative party draws its following almost entirely from Ontario and British Columbia. Each leader laid stress upon the national character of his party, and each has

been returned to power at the head of what are, in large measure, regional groups.

In the Progressive party, Mr. Crerar's "broadening" policy was a wise statement of objective. Facts appear, however, to support Mr. Wood's theory of the representation of economic groups. If Mr. Crerar outlined "what ought to be," Mr. Wood stated "what is." There is this difference, however, to be noted. The Progressive party is not a farmers' party but a prairie farmers' party. It represents not only an industry but a region. The scattered representatives from other provinces are scarcely numerous enough to invalidate that statement.

Mr. Meighen's following is less localized. Most of its members come from Ontario but they are drawn from city and country alike, and from no one section of the province. They are the remnant of a party accounted for by inertia, personal considerations, and local political traditions and events.

With more than a score of seats in Ontario, and a personal victory in North York, Mr. King may deny that his party is regional. Nevertheless he is painfully aware that the major problem within his party is regional. His failure to persuade Mr. Crerar to enter his Cabinet, though acceptance would probably have been political suicide for one or the other, was also a failure to establish his party on a broad national basis. Sixty-five Quebec representatives are as important a fact as sixty-five farmers. There is this difference. The isolating factors in the case of Quebec are political and racial, while in the case of the West they are economic. The problems of the immediate future are dominantly economic. In the face of them there is likely to be greater solidarity among Western farmers than among the representatives of the widely differing constituencies of Quebec.

In view of these facts it is clear that Canada is faced with the problem of sectionalism, a problem which has been with her from the beginning and which bids fair to tarry long. Since first the beckoning waters of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa lured French adventurers westward, Canadians have striven to build a nation in spite of the stubborn facts of geo-

graphy. Roads, canals, railways and the tariff have been the material instruments, and the work is far from complete, though the result is not uncertain.

Canadian historians have for the most part failed to give due emphasis to the geographical facts upon which our nation must be built. Maps have not been ignored, but they have been usually maps of disputed authenticity; and rarely are even the most obtrusive facts of geology, topography and climate used or interpreted. In few countries have geographical facts been of equal significance. The open gateway to the West which the St. Lawrence Valley offers, the low watershed which divides that valley from the Mississippi, the natural linking of the American West to the St. Lawrence, the Laurentian plateau extending wedge-shaped between East and West, these are facts which have greatly increased the task of nation-builders in Canada.

Sectionalism is always characteristic of a new and expanding country. There is always division between the frontier and the old settlements, whether exemplified in Jacksonian democracy, or in conflict between Halifax and York currencies and between established churches and Methodism, or in farmers' movements. Curious parallels can be drawn between the sectionalism of the American West, with its Granger movements, its advocacy of cheap money, its suspicion of the "money power," and its hatred of the East, and the farmers' movements, the denunciations of Eastern banks and "Big Interests," and the whole anti-Eastern attitude of our own West. Such analogies must not be pushed too far. The Canadian farmers' movement has attained a power, a sanity, a constructive programme, and seemingly a permanence never achieved in the United States. There are many causes at the root of the difference, but some geographical distinctions can be drawn.

The United States has had not only length but breadth. Her westward moving frontier from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada has represented a considerable portion of her population and the absence of any north and south barrier has made the Mississippi Valley the unifying fact in American history. The Mississippi Valley made it impossible that this nation should exist "half slave and half free," and the same valley

produced the man who stated that impossibility. As contrasted with the United States, Canada has no breadth. The overwhelming majority of her population live within one hundred miles of the American border and in spite of the magnificent areas which a Mercator's projection map displays, the inhabited part of Canada is still a long line of narrow regions with important geographical barriers running north and south. Instead of the Mississippi Valley uniting the nation, Canada has the dividing factor of the Laurentian plateau. From southern Ontario to eastern Manitoba stretches a region where railway construction costs are high and where local traffic is almost if not entirely absent. Parallel to that region south of the lakes lies the rich traffic territory from Detroit to Minnesota. Railways south of the Lakes are a part of the great railway net of the best of railway territories, the Upper Mississippi Valley. North of the Lakes railways are dangerously extended lines of communication, of which the cost is paid in western freight rates.

A result of these facts is that as the Canadian West expanded, the frontier was far removed from the older settlements and physical distance exaggerated such differences as necessarily existed between regions at different stages of industrial progress, and whose natural resources indicated permanent divergence in economic development. In the history of the United States the Western frontier was the meeting point and ultimately the solvent of the divergences between North and South, between the importing manufacturing area, and the region exporting a single staple crop. Southern free trade sentiment and economic dominance filled the first half of the nineteenth century. The Civil War was the last Southern stand made against the West slowly but surely turning the balance in favour of the Northern States. Canada has no South, or rather her South is West. That is to say, not only is the sectionalism of the West due to its frontier position and exaggerated by physical distance, but at the same time it differs economically from Eastern Canada as the Southern States differed from the Northern States.

This is the fact which is reflected in the general elections. "The solid West" has new political and national significance.

In spite of the work of sixty years, the union of regions is but partially accomplished and the sectionalism apparent in election returns is no mere surface phenomenon but rooted deeply in the fundamental facts of geology, topography, climate, and resulting industrial conditions. The situation will tax the statesmanship of Mr. Mackenzie King and his Cabinet to the utmost.

A "solid Quebec" is, as suggested, a less stubborn fact. There are divisive factors of race and religion, but ties of religion bind other parts of Canada to Quebec and the French race has extended beyond the Quebec boundaries. Threatening as that expansion may appear to certain hysterical elements in the population, it is an aid to the solution of the sectionalism of Quebec. It serves to increase the diversity of economic interests of the French Canadian peoples and thus mitigate the results of racial differences. In other words, the "solid Quebec" is largely a temporary factor in Canadian politics which reappears from time to time as some political event or policy, such as those of 1911 and 1917, reinforces racial differences. Before the economic problems of the next decade, Quebec is likely to resolve into groups having different economic interests and creeds. Of this the presence of Sir Lomer Gouin in Parliament is an indication. Mr. Meighen's belief that Quebec could be divided, was based on sound analysis. He erred in thinking that it could be divided by those who had given it its isolated solidarity.

Sectionalism is the ugly fact of the present. What can be done to mitigate it? Does it bid fair to be permanent or is it transitory, "a result of the war"? With Quebec sharing in power, her isolation ends, and probably her solidarity also. It is different with the division between West and East. There still remain permanent basic facts giving the West peculiar economic interests not shared by Eastern Canada. An important modification is likely to come, however. Up to the present, our frontier has been a Western frontier and has run parallel to the North and South barriers of the continent. From now on, our frontier will be a northern frontier, cutting at right angles those barriers. Each province is likely to have an expanding frontier within itself and provincial differences

are likely to be modified by this fact. Indications of these intra-provincial divergences are not wanting. Manitoba is never allowed to forget the existence of The Pas and the North, Northern Ontario has a budding secessionist movement. Even northern British Columbia has found a regional consciousness. It is this northern frontier stretching across physical barriers, linking province to province, and of necessity a perpetual frontier, that will differentiate permanently the people of Canada from that of the United States. Professor Turner stated that the census of 1890 showed that with the exhaustion of free land the frontier in American history had passed, and a new historical era had begun. The Canadian frontier can diminish in importance but it must always remain and with it will remain the imprint which rests on an expanding people.

It is difficult for political measures to overcome economic facts and yet the incoming government must assume some responsibility toward a divided Canada. Mr. Mackenzie King will be wise if he faces frankly economic divergences between east and west and endeavours, on the tariff and allied questions, to find common ground on which opposing interests may compromise. His position is still undefined. When stated, it must be the conscious choice of a mind which has seen a problem in its entirety, not a mere halting between two opinions. Faced as he is by a group for the most part clear-headed in their conviction that a lower tariff alone can save the West, Mr. King will be prudent if he admits the element of truth in the contention of the farmer group. Protectionism and national sentiment have been too long linked. The Prime Minister will take a strong position as a politician and as a statesman if he adopts a positive national attitude toward the necessary tariff revision.

There is one last hopeful fact. The economic divisions of Canada are thrown into strong relief by the existing depression. It was the depression following the Seven Years War which led the thirteen colonies to revolt. Depression gave rise to the Annexation Manifesto of 1849. Small wonder that the present depression should deepen Canadian sectionalism. It is probably true that the tariff has less effect in shaping industry than opposing disputants would have us believe. The

weight of opinion and of logic is, however, with the lower tariff position. Sir John Macdonald reaped much glory when the industrial up-swing followed his National Policy. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was equally fortunate when the depression of the early nineties turned the corner in '96. If he is wise and adopts a clean-cut National Policy distinguishable from that of other leaders, Mr. Mackenzie King may reap the honour of being the herald of returning prosperity in the present decade. Canada's future depends much upon his wisdom and much upon a good crop.

W. A. MACKINTOSH.

* * * * * * * *

Ireland.

The Irish negotiations, after many hitches and long-drawn out delays, came to a peaceful conclusion with dramatic suddenness. One can distinguish three phases in the parleyings: (1) The preliminary proceedings between Lloyd George and De Valera arising out of the King's speech at Belfast, with the Inverness Conference, which did not take place, and Mr. De Valera, whom Lloyd George described as quite unlike anyone he ever met before, left, protesting that he could only recognize himself for what he was. (2) The meetings at Downing Street, at which Messrs. Griffiths and Collins replaced Mr. De Valera. We are still in the dark as to how this was arranged, but it evidently made considerably for peace. In spite of protestation of independence, alternating with "Say Suzerain," on the side of the British Government, obviously both parties were prepared to compromise. The Dail members were using independence as a card to play against Ulster. Lloyd George was matching the maximum concessions indicated in General Smuts' letter against Ireland remaining within the Empire. Ulster's obduracy, natural enough since the Government Act of 1920 enabled them to negotiate on equal terms, prevented a solution embracing all Ireland. (3) Lloyd George's final offer, which was promptly accepted. Ulster had been put on a working basis. South Ireland was now to have the larger dominion terms. Mr. De Valera, who occasionally was heard winding his horn during the conference, now came out in absolute opposition to

any compromise. After protracted debates and an adjournment at Xmas, the treaty was passed (64-57) by the Dail. Griffith replaced De Valera and Michael Collins, in whose words one catches a ring of sincerity, feeling and democracy, became the leader of the Provisional Government of the new Free State. As an election is to be held in the near future, probably the De Valera party will be reduced to the level of a faction, whose continued existence will depend on the success of the new state in its internal and external relations. It is important to notice, however, that if the De Valera party survive in any numerical strength, the position of the solid Ulster bloc would be greatly strengthened, if they came speedily into the new state. The internal future of Ireland is now in her own hands. She is even free to make her own constitution. She can substitute something else for Parliament, as we know it. Mr. De Valera, in fact, seems to have an idea that autocracy would be a good form of government. He knows what is good for Ireland and is prepared to give it. In material things the prospects for the new Free State are not so good as they would have been two years ago, before the slump in food prices in the export market came. We may expect the infant industries to come crowding and clamouring for the tariff bottle. This way lies friction both with Ulster and the British Government, which is rather open-minded on the tariff question. One may be prepared to see the Irish contribution to the war go the way of other reparations, after the matter of pensions has been arranged. As probably patriots will be included in any pension scheme, this source may draw largely on any Irish economies. A further and difficult question will be education, particularly if the question of Ulster be taken into account. Here apparently a reciprocal agreement will be necessary between the two provinces, with the minority provided for as in Quebec. The situation is complicated by the fact that in the towns secondary education is at present largely provided by the church, and grants are earned. But the Free State is pledged not to endow any denomination. But if teaching orders exist only to teach, and earn money by doing so, how are they not endowed? Such questions will fully occupy the new Government. What will be the composition of the new Assembly? Idealist, materialist, horse dealer,

patriot, statesman and politician, all will be there. Will any of the old nationalists reappear? These questions may be answered according to inclination. The Celt expects paternal legislation, the writer was told by one who had considerable experience in administering it. We'll have no Tammany methods here, said Michael Collins stoutly, but the virtue of Tammany is paternalism. To sum up, Ireland is going to have its own problems, and, like the rest of the world, must solve them by the intelligence of its people. We may discount cheap sneers by remarking that the engineers of the movement have shown ability second to none. Let them do the same in the humdrum of politics and all will be well. When we turn to external affairs the position is much more complicated. At the beginning of the war Lloyd George alluded disrespectfully to the ram-shackle old Empire of Austria-Hungary, but words fail at present to describe the anomalous condition of the traditional British Empire. Ireland, which Austin Chamberlain has described deferentially as a parent nation, becomes one of the component states of the Empire. This seems to mean a chair at the directors' table, but if that is the case why should not Scotland have the same? Moreover, as the principle of the Empire is to a certain extent one of limited liability, while Canada and Australia may influence Pacific policy very largely, will not Ireland insist on playing a proportional part in European affairs. The "New Statesman" very plainly pointed out to its readers that they must accommodate themselves to the new position which Ireland had assumed. Ireland itself is asking for a closer definition of dominion status, while the elder statesmen of the Empire shirk the question, because time has not determined the answer. Here again is something which will keep the purely Nationalist party alive, as it has in South Africa. The majority voice in Ireland which has backed the treaty was probably influenced by considerations of commercial and friendly relations between Ireland and Great Britain. How will it regard the larger implications I have touched on?

W. M. CONACHER.

CAUSERIE ON BOOKS.

IT was a great pleasure when I had put in my hands for the purpose of a notice in the *Queen's Quarterly,* and my debut therein, W. H. Hudson's 'Birds in a Village.' I first noticed a batch of these little books, some tales by Hawthorne, 'Poems of To-day,' a fine selection, by N. Pocock including the too little known 'Jack' by E. V. Lucas, essays by Alpha of the Plough and other fragments pleasant to hold. They seemed to me a delightful series then and have always brought me luck, but alas at a steadily increasing price. First, if my recollection holds, with the Ruskinian title of 'The King's Treasuries of Literature,' they were no more than eighteen pence, but they rapidly soared to 1/9 and then to a florin, in other words half a dollar, where, let us hope, they still remain.[1]

The portrait which gladdens me on the title page suggests a compeer of Thomas Hardy, almost of the author of "Oh to be in England," an author undoubtedly of a certain age, not unvenerable, all of whose many books I am rejoiced to think that I possessed until at least two years ago. Their stock has gone up incredibly in the market since about 1920. Hudson's work will rank infallibly, I think, with those of old Izaak Walton, Gilbert White, and Richard Jefferies. He had by the way one apt pupil, Edward Thomas. But it seems almost incredible now to reflect that I know one intimately who had addressed him face to face as "Huddy," and had even had the temerity to ask him his age—an unfathomable subject. It was delightful, at any rate, to touch once more in this reprint of 'Birds in a Village,' a passage so buoyant and characteristic as Hudson's enthusiastic commendation of the common jay. He defends him from the imputation of thieving, and with the other corvine bird which the gamekeeper pursues so relentlessly, he credits him with an almost superhuman sagacity in escaping extermination. In actual cunning he may surpass the crow and the magpie, or he may not, in perpetual alertness and restless energy or intensity of life he is without an equal among

[1]J. M. Dent (London and Toronto).

British birds. This vivacity forms his chief attraction. But the attraction is at least equalled in my humble opinion by that of the jackdaw. I remember a jackdaw of Collingham yew tree in Wiltshire, as famous in his day and habitat as the gravedigger in "Hamlet"; perhaps he was as famous in his way as the jackdaw in Hudson's most recent book, "A Traveller in Little Things,"[2] with a publisher's tree-sign or printer's mark which somehow delightfully recalls the contour of Faringdon Clump. The Saturday Westminster invites the reader in one of its late competitions to sing the praise, or otherwise, of the latest book from England. This is Hudson's latest so far as we know, and our reader at any rate shall not miss the delectation of this live morsel from the Old Country and Hudson's favourite county.'

"At one end of the Wiltshire village where I was staying there was a group of half-a-dozen cottages surrounded by gardens and shade trees, and every time I passed this spot on my way to and from the downs on that side, I was hailed by a loud challenging cry—a sort of 'Hullo, who goes there!'—unmistakably the voice of a jackdaw, a pet bird no doubt, friendly and impudent as one always expects Jackie to be. And as I always like to learn the history of every pet daw I come across, I went down to the cottage the cry usually came from to make enquiries. The door was opened to me by a tall, colourless, depressed looking woman, who said in reply to my question that she didn't own no jackdaw. There was such a bird there, but it was her husband's and she didn't know nothing about it. I couldn't see it because it had flown away somewhere and wouldn't be back for a long time. I could ask her husband about it; he was the village sweep, and also had a carpenter's shop.

"I did not venture to cross-question her; but the history of the daw came to me soon enough—on the evening of the same day, in fact. I was staying at the inn and had already become aware that the bar-parlour was the customary meeting place of a majority of the men in that small isolated centre of humanity. There was no club nor institute or reading-room, nor squire or other predominant person to regulate things

[2]Dent (London and Toronto), 1921.

differently. The landlord, wise in his generation, provided newspapers liberally as well as beer, and had his reward. The people who gathered there of an evening included two or three farmers, a couple of professional gentlemen—not the vicar—a man of property, the postman, the carrier, the butcher, the baker, and other tradesmen, the farm and other labourers, and last but not least, the village sweep. A curious democratic assembly to be met with in a rural village in a purely agricultural district, extremely conservative in politics.

"I had already made the acquaintance of some of the people, high and low, and on that evening, hearing much hilarious talk in the parlour, I went in to join the company, and found fifteen or twenty persons present. The conversation, when I found a seat, had subsided into a quiet tone, but presently the door opened and a short, robust-looking man with a round, florid, smiling face looked in upon us.

" 'Hullo, Jimmy, what makes you so late?' said someone in the room. 'We're waiting to hear the finish of all that trouble about your bird at home. Stolen any more of your wife's jewellery? Come in, and let's hear all about it.'

" 'Oh, give him time,' said another. 'Can't you see his brain's busy inventing something new to tell us!'

" 'Inventing, you say!' exclaimed Jimmy, with affected anger. 'There's no need to do that! That there bird does tricks nobody would think of.'

"Here the person sitting next to me, speaking low, informed me that this was Jimmy Jacob, the sweep, and he owned a pet jackdaw, known to every one in the village, and supposed to be the cleverest bird that ever was. He added that Jimmy could be very amusing about his bird.

" 'I'd already begun to feel curious about that bird of yours,' I said, addressing the sweep. I'd like very much to hear his history. Did you take him from the nest?'

" 'Yes, Jim,' said the man next to me. 'Tell us how you came by the bird; it's sure to be a good story.'

"Jimmy, having found a seat and a mug of beer put before him, began by remarking that he knew someone had been interesting himself in that bird of his. 'When I went home to

tea this afternoon,' he continued, 'my missus, she says to me: 'There's that bird of your again,' she says.

" 'What bird' says I. 'If you mean Jack,' says I, 'what's he done now?—out with it!'

" 'We'll talk about what he's done bime-by,' says she. 'What I mean is, a gentleman called to ask about that bird.'

" 'Oh, did he?' says I. 'Yes,' she says. 'I told him I didn't know nothing about it. He could go and ask you. You'd be sure to tell him a lot.'

" 'And what did the gentleman say to that?' says I.

" 'He arsked me who you was, an' I said you was the sweep and you had a carpenter's shop near the pub, and was supposed to do carpentering.'

"*Supposed* to do carpentering! That's how she said it.

" 'And what did the gentleman say to that?' says I.

" 'He said he thought he seen you at the inn, and I said that's just where he would see you.'

" 'Anything more between you and the gentleman?' says I, and she said:

" 'No, nothing more, except that he said he'd look you up, and arst if you was a funny little fat man, sort of round, with a little red face. . And I said, "Yes, that's him." '

Here I thought it time to break in, 'It's true,' I said, 'I called at your cottage and saw your wife, but there's no truth in the account you've given of the conversation I had with her.'

There was a general laugh. 'Oh, very well,' said Jimmy. 'After that I've nothing more to say about the bird or anything else.'

I replied that I was sorry, but we need not begin our acquaintance by quarrelling—that it would be better to have a drink together.

Jimmy smiled consent, and I called for another pint for Jimmy and a soda for myself; then added I was so sorry he had taken it that way as I should have liked to hear how he got the bird.

He answered that if I put it that way he wouldn't mind telling me. And everybody was pleased, and we composed ourselves once more to listen.

"How I got that there bird was like this," he began. "It were about half after four in the morning, summer before last, an' I was just having what I may call my beauty sleep, when all of a sudding there came a most thundering rat-a-tat-tat at the door.

" 'Good Lord,' says my missus, 'whatever is that?'

" 'Sounds like a knock at the door,' says I. 'Just slip on your thingamy an' go see.'

" 'No,' she says, 'you must go; it might be a man.'

" 'No, I says, 'it ain't nothing of such consekince as that. It's only an old woman come to borrow some castor oil.'

"So she went and bime-by comes back and says: 'It's a man that's called to see you an' it's very important.'

" 'Tell him I'm in bed,' says I, 'an can't get up till six o'clock.'

"Well, after a lot of grumbling, she went again, then came back and says the man won't go away till he seen you, as it's very important. 'Something about a bird,' she says.

" 'A bird!' I says, "What d'you mean by a bird?'

" 'A rook,' she says.

" 'A rook!' says I, 'is he a madman, or what?'

" 'He's a man at the door,' she says, 'an' he won't go away till he sees you, so you'd better git up and see him.'

" 'All right, old woman,' I says, 'I'll git up as you say I must, and I'll smash him. Get me something to put on,' I says.

" 'No,' she says, don't smash him'; and she give me something to put on, weskit and trousers, so I put on the weskit and got one foot in a slipper, and went out to him with the trousers in my hand. And there he was at the door, sure enough, a tramp!

" 'Now, my man,, says I, very severe-like, 'what's this something important you've got me out of bed at four of the morning for? Is it the end of the world, or what?'

"He looked at me quite calm and said it was something important but not that—not the end of the world. 'I'm sorry to disturb you,' he says, 'but women don't understand things properly,' he says, 'an' I always think it best to speak to a man.'

" 'That's all very well,' I says, 'but how long do you intend to keep me here with nothing but this on?'

" 'I'm just coming to it,' he says, not a bit put out. 'It's like this,' he says. 'I'm from the north—Newcastle way—an' on my way to Dorchester, looking for work,' he says.

" 'Yes, I see you are!' says I, looking him up and down, fierce-like.

" 'Last evening,' he says, 'I come to a wood about a mile from this 'ere village, and I says to myself, "I'll stay here and go on in the morning." So I began looking about and found some fern and cut an armful and made a bed under a oak tree. I slep' there till about three this morning. When I opened my eyes, what should I see but a bird sitting on the ground close to me! I no sooner see it than I says to myself, "That bird is as good as a breakfast," I says. So I put out my hand and copped it. And here it is!' and out he pulled a bird from under his coat.

" 'That's a young jackdaw,' I says.

" 'You may call it a jackdaw if you like,' says he; but what I want you to understand is that it ain't no or'nary bird. It's a bird,' he says, 'that'll do you han'som' and you'll be proud to have, and I've called here to make you a present of it. All I want is a bit of bread, a pinch of tea, and some sugar to make my breakfast in an hour's time when I git to some cottage by the road where they got a fire lighted,' he says.

"When he said that, I burst out laughing, a foolish thing to do, mark you, for when you laugh you're done for; but I couldn't help it for the life of me. I'd seen many tramps but never such a cool one as this.

"I no sooner laughed than he put the bird in my hands, and I had to take it. 'Good Lord!' says I. Then I called to the Missus to fetch me the loaf and a knife, and when I got it I cut him off half the loaf. 'Don't give him that,' she says; 'I'll cut him a piece.' But all I says was, 'Go and git me the tea.'

" 'There's a very little for breakfast,' she says But I made her fetch the caddy, and he put out his hand and I half filled it with tea. 'Isn't that enough?' says I; 'well, then, have some more,' I says; and he had some more. Then I made her fetch the bacon and began cutting him rashers. 'One's enough,'

says the old woman. 'No,' says I, 'let him have a good breakfast. The bird's worth it,' says I, and went on cutting him bacon. 'Anything more?' I arst him.

" 'If you've a copper or two to spare,' he says, 'it'll be a help to me on my way to Dorchester.'

"'Certainly,' says I, and I began to feel in my trouser pockets and found a florin. 'Here,' I says, 'it's all I have, but you're more than welcome to it.'

"Then my missus she give a sort of snort, and walked off.

" 'And now,' I says, 'per'aps you won't mind letting me go back to git some clothes on.'

" 'In one minute,' he says, and went on calmly stowing the things away, and when he finished, he looks at me quite serious, and says, 'I'm obliged to you,' he says, 'and I hope you haven't ketched cold standing with your feet on them bricks and nothing much on you,' he says. 'But I want most particular to arst you not to forget to remember about that bird I giv' you,' he says. 'You call it a jackdaw and I've no particular objection to that, only don't go and run away with the idea that its just an orn'ary jackdaw. It's a different sort, and you'll come to know its value bime-by, and that it ain't the kind of bird you can buy with a bit of bread and a pinch of tea,' he says. 'And there's something else you've got to think of—that wife of yours. I've been sort of married myself and can feel for you,' he says. 'The time will come when that there bird's pretty little ways will amuse her, and last of all it'll make her smile, and you'll get the benefit of that,' he says. 'And you'll remember the bird was giv' to you by a man named Jones—that's my name, Jones—walking from Newcastle to Dorchester, looking for work. A poor man, you'll say, down on his luck, but not one of the common sort, not a greedy, selfish man, but a man that's always trying to do something to make others happy,' he says.

"And after that, he said 'Good-bye,' without a smile, and walked off.

"And there at the door I stood, I don't know how long, looking after him going down the road. Then I laughed; I don't know that I ever laughed so much in my life, and at last I had to sit down on the bricks to go on laughing more com-

fortably, until the missus came and arst me, sarcastic like, if I'd got the high-strikes, and if she'd better get a bucket of water to throw over me. "

"I says, 'no, I don't want no water. Just let me have my laugh out and then it'll be all right.'

" 'Well, I don't see nothing to laugh at,' she says. 'And I s'pose you thought you giv him a penny. Well, it wasn't a penny, it was a florin,' she says.

" 'And little enough too,' I says. 'What that man said to me, to say nothing of the bird, was worth a sovereign. But you are a woman, and can't understand that,' I says. 'No,' she says, 'I can't, and lucky for you, or we'd a' been in the workhouse before now,' she says.

"And that's how I got the bird."

* * * * * * *

Surrey, Dorset, and Devon have their overweening champions. It is characteristic of Hudson that he finds best of what he seeks in England in portions which many Canadians know best among the villages which branch off from Salisbury Plain. Equally unobtrusive is his taste in cows, the breath of which he loves, shepherd dogs, where he competes with the authors of "White Fang" and "Owd Bob," and above all, birds. He is himself a postal directory to most of the rare birds, especially the songsters of Britain. He has a love for the individual nightingales and blackcaps of south England, and can tell you the exact spots where these prima donnas perform. He is more convincing about them even than he is of the forms and conversation of the fair ones on the estancias of the Banda Oriental. I should like to have been with Hudson once when I bicycled from Aldershot through the Frimley Road behind two British soldiers and heard their comments upon these exquisite notes. But for all birds he has the same indulgence. "There was no rookery in or near the village, but a large flock of rooks were always to be seen feeding and sunning themselves in some level meadows near the river. It struck me one day as a very fine sight, when an old bird who looked larger and blacker and greyer-faced than the others, and might have been the father and leader of them all, got up on a low post and with wide open beak poured forth a long

series of most impressive caws. One always wonders at the meaning of such displays. Is the old bird addressing the others in the rook language on some matter of great moment; or is he only expressing some feeling in the only language he has—these long hoarse uninflected sounds, and if so, what feeling? Probably a very common one."

Here he reminds one irresistibly of Sydney Smith with buoyant laughter and self-enjoying laugh revelling in one of his most famous pieces of acting. Talking of the intelligence and concert which birds such as rooks and crows have among themselves, showing that they must have some means of communicating their thoughts, Sydney said: "I daresay they make the same remark of us. That fat old crow there," indicating himself and acting with superb self-luxury, "What a prodigious noise he is making. I have no doubt he has some power of communicating." These rooks, Hudson notes, are usually accompanied by two or three crows, a bird of so ill repute that the most out and out enthusiast for protection must find it hard to say a word in its favour. I must add one word and one word only to this notice to say how much I appreciate its reference to "Wheel Magic." A charming booklet, Hudson calls it. It was dedicated to me in what I thought a singularly felicitous way. I entered into many of its moods and it is right, I think, to call the book, which Lane published about a dozen years ago, a little gem, as I once described it in a quasi-picaresque but fruitless satire on the smelly motor and its unobservant occupant in the pages of 'Blackwood.'

THOMAS SECCOMBE.

ERRATUM

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APRIL, MAY, JUNE, 1922

WAR BRINGS ITS AFTERMATH

Canada has problems as delicate and urgent as those which bewilder the peoples of Europe. The political and industrial decisions of the next few years will make—or mar—her future.

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THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1921.

WHEN proposing the summoning of a Conference for 1921, the British government specified the following subjects for consideration:

'1. Preparation for the special Constitutional Conference contemplated in Resolution 9 of the Imperial War Conference of 1917 to be held at a later date, this preparatory discussion to include such questions as the meeting place, date, composition, and agenda.

2. A general review of the main features of foreign relations, particularly as they affect the Dominions.

3. The question of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which is indeed only a part of the general subject of foreign relations, but which is especially urgent since under the terms of the alliance a decision should be reached this year.

4. Preliminary consideration, preparatory for the proposed Constitutional Conference of some working method for arriving at a common understanding as to policy in such external affairs as concern all parts of the Empire.'

At the Conference, Nos. 1, 3, and 4 were discarded; and the qualification of No. 2 was dropped. After Canada had agreed to the Conference, a list of other subjects for discussion was received, but as to them Mr. Meighen said in the House of Commons (27 April) that

'they have not appeared to me as of such urgency at the present time on the one hand, or as having advanced so far in their solution on the other, having regard to world conditions generally, that it is necessary to take them up *in extenso* at this forthcoming conference. The questions advanced by the hon. leader of the Opposition would indicate that I should give some reasons for my opinion in this regard, especially in respect to the subject of military, naval, and air defence. Why is it I consider it is not urgent that this should be reviewed at the forthcoming conference? Well, I

do not say that it should not be reviewed, but so far as information has come to me, unless there are developments between now and the time of meeting, or unless something is advanced beyond what my present information is, there does not seem any urgency for its discussion' (*Hansard,* 1921, p. 2640).

Mr. Lloyd George, on the other hand, in a previous speech (15 February), said (italics now added):

'The defence of the Empire was a great problem, which ought to be an Imperial concern. It was too much to ask these small islands to undertake the defence of this gigantic Empire in every sea. At the forthcoming Conference of the Prime Ministers of the Empire, the *whole problem of Imperial defence would be considered.* There must be co-ordination, not between the various services only, but between the several parts of the Empire. . . If at the forthcoming Conference, which is regarded as one of the most momentous in the history of the Empire, there was general consent that *we must make common cause to defend the liberties of the world, and the interests of the Empire*—not to involve Canada, Australia, or India in our quarrels, but when there was some great cause, as there was in the late war, the knowledge that the Empire was *quite prepared in future to repeat its great effort of the past would be,* I believe, one of the soundest guarantees of peace.'

Calling attention to this, Mr. Mackenzie King, during the debate of 27 April, said:

'Now if that is a correct statement of the purposes of the conference, it is wholly at variance with the one which has been made by the Prime Minister of Canada. My purpose in rising, Mr. Speaker, was primarily to have it made clear to the House what, according to the view of my right hon. friend is to be the scope of the conference which he is about to attend.' (*Hansard,* p. 2633).

Mr. Lloyd George had his way, and carried Mr. Meighen along with him.

The Anglo Japanese Alliance. By the terms of the treaty between the United Kingdom and Japan of 13 July, 1911, it was to continue for ten years, and thereafter until, by twelve months notice, one of the parties denounced it. In order to conform with the later stipulations of the League of Nations, some amendment of the treaty being necessary, the parties, on 8 July, 1920, notified the League that

> 'if the said agreement be continued after July, 1921, it must be in a form which is not inconsistent with that covenant.'

At the Conference, sharp difference of opinion arose as to whether the treaty should or should not be renewed for a further term of years. No agreement was possible. Action was necessary. What was to be done? Interminable guesses will not help you. This: Tell the world that the principal—the 'especially urgent' reason for summoning the Conference did not exist; that the Law Officers of the Crown had been of opinion that the notification, by both parties, to the League that if the treaty were continued it would be amended was really a notification by one party to the other of intention to end it; that the Conference had been summoned because the treaty, as the Law Officers said, was ending; but that since then the discovery had been made that the Law Officers were quite wrong; that the treaty was not coming to an end; and that there was no necessity for doing anything. That such a story should have been put forward would be incredible were it not recorded in the official report of the Conference. It made fools of the Law Officers, but saved the face of the Conference.

Constitutional Conference. Similar fate attended items Nos. 1 and 4. The Imperial War Conference of 1917 had unanimously adopted a resolution declaring that a Conference to consider the readjustment of

> 'the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire . . . should be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities.'

Sir Robert Borden was the draftsman of the resolution. It was Mr. Meighen who, at the Conference of 1921, agreed to a declaration that

> 'Having regard to the constitutional developments since 1917, no advantage is to be gained by holding a constitutional conference.'

To that action, Sir Robert replied in his *Canadian Constitutional Studies* (pp. 113-4), saying that the sentence

> 'seems to imply that constitutional development since 1917 makes further consideration unnecessary. Much remains to be done before a constitutional conference can be held

with advantage, and there was good reason for delay, but not for this conclusion. In May, 1921, the Canadian Prime Minister declared that the relations between the constituent parts of the Empire must be based upon a conception of complete freedom and equality in national status. Further he observed that the practical need would be met by clearly understood and definitely accepted declarations of principle with improvements in so much of the form and content of the existing mechanism as may be found to be obsolete.'

Sir Robert was by no means singular. In the session immediately prior to the Conference, Mr. Rowell said that

'such a conference is necessary, not to frame any new written constitution, but "to put at rest all this discussion about the status of the Dominion." He wanted "a declaration" recognizing "our present constitutional position . . . as being equal in status with the Mother Country as self-governing nations of the British Empire.' (*Hansard,* p. 2649).

General Smuts, too, in his Assembly (June, 1920) said that

'a constitutional conference was absolutely necessary to clear up the position . . . Next year's Imperial Conference would probably become the greatest landmark in the history of the Empire.' (*The Times*, 26 June, 1920).

In defence of the action of the Conference, Mr. Lloyd George said in the House of Commons (18 August, 1921) that

'it would be a mistake to lay down any rules or to embark upon definitions as to what the British Empire meant. To do so would be to limit its utility, would be, I think, to weaken its unity.'

He meant, of course, that subordination of the Dominions with reference to foreign affairs ought to continue. He was quite willing to rhapsodize about equality of status, but he saw that to recognize it officially would tend to make it a reality. For example, in his opening speech at the Conference, he said (italics now added):

'In recognition of their services and achievements in the War the British Dominions have now been accepted fully into the comity of nations by the whole world. They are signatories to the Treaty of Versailles and of all the other Treaties of Peace; they are members of the Assembly of the League of Nations; and their representatives have already attended meetings of the League; in other words, *they have achieved full national status,* and they now stand beside the United Kingdom as equal partners in the dignities and responsibilities of the British Commonwealth. If

> there are means by which that status can be rendered even clearer to their own communities and to the world at large, we shall be glad to have them put forward at this Conference.' (*Report,* p. 14).

The way to render it clearer, of course, was officially to declare it. But that 'would be to weaken its unity.' In other words, the imperial or centralizing principle of one dominating and several subordinate communities means unity in foreign affairs, which the equal-nations principle would weaken. It certainly would reduce control to alliance and co-operation, and, very naturally, Mr. Lloyd George wanted control to be unqualified save by pretended and impracticable consultations. That is not, I think, what Canada wants.

War Obligation. Having in these ways got rid of three of the four items on its agenda, the Conference, under the heading of No. 2, proceeded to the realization of the object for which the Conference was really summoned, namely, co-ordination for war-purposes. Mr. Meighen (as above stated) had declared, for a variety of reasons, that discussion of 'the subject of military, naval, and air defence . . . is not urgent.' We are now to see what happened. The official report gives us the following (italics now added):

> 'The discussions, which covered the whole area of foreign policy, and extended over many days, proved most fruitful in all these respects. They revealed a unanimous opinion as to the main lines to be followed by British policy, and a deep conviction that *the whole weight of the Empire should be concentrated behind a united understanding and common action in foreign affairs.*' (*Summary of Proceedings,* p. 3),

the understanding and action being, as we shall see, those of the British Foreign Office.

Speaking in the House of Commons (14 December), Mr. Lloyd George represented the Dominions as having said (at the Conference, I assume):

> 'You are putting us in this position—either we have to support you in a policy which we might or might not approve, or we have to desert the old country in the time of trouble. That is a dilemma in which you ought never to put us. Therefore in future you must consult us before the event.'

To this Mr. Lloyd George added (italics now added):

> 'That was right; that was just. That was advantageous to both parties. We acceded to it gladly. The machinery is the machinery of the British Government—the Foreign Office, the Ambassadors. The machinery must remain here. It is impossible that it could be otherwise, unless you had a Council of Empire, with representatives elected for the purpose. Apart from that, you must act through one instrument. The instrument of the foreign policy of the Empire is the British Foreign Office. *That has been accepted by all the Dominions as inevitable.* But they claim a voice in determining the lines of our future policy. At the last Imperial Conference they were there discussing our policy in Germany, our policy in Egypt, our policy in America, our policy all over the world, and we are now acting upon the mature, general decisions arrived at with the common consent of the whole Empire. The sole control of Britain over foreign policy is now vested in the Empire as a whole. That is a new fact, and I would point out what bearing it has upon the Irish controversy. The advantage to us is that *joint control means joint responsibility,* and when the burden of Empire has become so vast *it is well that we should have the shoulders of these young giants under the burden to help us along.*'

In other words, in consideration of being consulted as to foreign policy, Canada is to put her shoulders under a joint responsibility—under a burden of world extent.

Acting upon the assurances received at the Conference, Mr. Lloyd George, at the Cannes meeting, handed to M. Briand (4 January, 1922) a Memorandum in which he said:

> 'The British Government desire to make plain to the Cannes Conference that the British Empire and France stand together as firmly in the issues of peace as in the ordeal of war. It is inconceivable that Germany should forget these facts or their significance as a guarantee of French soil. What the British Empire did once for civilization, it will, if need be, do again. . . If, therefore, Germany is certain that the British Empire will stand by France in a future war, she will not be tempted to keep alive any dreams of revenge.' (*Round Table,* March, 1922, pp. 270, 273).

The extent of Mr. Lloyd George's success at the Imperial Conference, despite Mr. Meighen's assertion that discussion of

> 'the subject of military, naval, or air defence . . . is not urgent',

may be gauged by the fact that theretofore Sir Wilfrid Laurier's two fundamental principles had been generally accepted in Canada, namely:

(1) He declined to pledge in advance Canadian support in British wars, declaring that we should reserve our judgement until the occasions arose. We might, or we might not participate.

(2) He declined to be consulted upon questions of British foreign policy, declaring that consultation meant pledged support.

Probably justification for Sir Wilfrid's attitude of reserve could not be stated better than the following from Mr. Meighen's speech when receiving the freedom of the City of London. He referred (quite incorrectly) to Canada's political institutions as being 'indeed a replica of this country,' and added:

> 'But I doubt if there is any other respect in which the Dominions are replicas of the Motherland. Our geography is different, our neighbourhood is different, our racial composition is different. The assets stored by nature in our soil—they are also different. No two nations of this Empire have the same path to travel. Each encounters difficulties and enjoys advantages all its own. . . Canada, for example, is a nation of about 9,000,000 spread over half a continent. You are 43,000,000 people gathered on two small islands. You have a homogeneous population. Only about one-half of ours have origin in these islands, and one-third are of French descent. Your transportation is almost wholly by sea, ours is mainly by land. But the contrast that is emphasized most is this. You are a mighty nation, for five centuries in the forefront of the world; you live on the edge of Europe, and around you are great competitive Powers. Your foreign policy has of necessity been the chief preoccupation of your government. We are a nation just grown to a nation's stature. We have one neighbour, and one only, and that one is an industrial colossus. It lies for four thousand miles along our border, producing what we produce and doing constant battle to forestall us in the world's markets. There is the big dominating fact that meets Canadians every morning. Save for the period of the great war, commercial questions have absorbed our minds.' (Can. Press Despatch, 15 July, 1921).

To this may very well be added two extracts from Sir Robert Borden's *Canadian Constitutional Studies* (pp. 139, 140):

'Of those who took part in the Peace Conference at Paris some at least returned to this continent with a sense of depression. The fierce antagonisms, the ancient hatreds, and the bitter jealousies of European nationals there assembled were not inspiring. Neither in its methods nor in its results can the highest success be claimed for the Peace Conference.'

'On this continent two nations speaking the same language constitute in effect one community in social and business aspects and relations. Each has its own laws and institutions, each is jealous of its rights and privileges, each has its own intense national spirit. At times there are strong differences, but there is no bitterness and no hatred. Therein is a vivid contrast to what may be observed in continental Europe.'

Extent of the Obligation. To Mr. Hughes of Australia and Mr. Meighen the very extent of the war-obligation which they assumed appears to be its chief fascination. After his return from the Conference, when speaking at Toronto, Mr. Meighen referred enthusiastically to 'the vastness of the task of the United Kingdom.' It

'was nearly beyond comprehension. There was hardly a point of Europe or Asia Minor where Britain was not facing a responsibility or a problem.' *Montreal Star,* 13 September, 1921).

With equal enthusiasm, Mr. Hughes told his Assembly that

'the boundaries of the British Empire march with those of nearly every state in the world, and its shores are washed by the waters of every ocean. The policies of every country are a matter of vital concern to this world-wide Empire of ours. As the great canvas of Foreign Policy was slowly unrolled by the Foreign Secretary and his colleagues, and we saw the immensity of the stage on which it moves, we were able to appreciate to the full the greatness and majesty of the British Empire, and to realize still more vividly how great a privilege it is to be able to claim its citizenship.' (*Hansard,* No. 92, p. 11632).

Borden and Rowell. More thoughtfully, Sir Robert Borden, speaking in the House of Commons (*Hansard,* p. 2629) last session, said:

'I should regret to see the Empire engage in difficult commitments, whether in Eastern Europe or Western Asia, or elsewhere. We have quite enough, and perhaps more

than enough, on our hands at present.' (*Hansard,* p. 2629). Mr. Rowell agreed with Sir Robert. He said:

> 'I share entirely the views expressed by the hon. member for King's (Sir Robert Borden) in reference to Western Asia and Eastern Europe commitments.' (*Hansard,* p. 2652).

The principal danger at the present moment is precisely in those districts, for there British and French, Greeks and Turks, Mohammedans and Arabs and Jews are quarrelling about matters in which Canada has no interest, of which she has little knowledge, and in respect of which, under the 'joint responsibility principle,' she may any day be plunged into war.

Consultation impossible. Altogether unreal and illusory is the 'consultation' in exchange for which we are said to have assumed a 'joint responsibility.' It amounts to nothing beyond the communication of a certain amount of information as to what the Foreign Office is doing. That must necessarily be so. For admission of the point we need not go outside the report of the Conference. For example (italics now added):

> 'In this context, very careful consideration was given to the means of *circulating information* to the Dominion Governments and keeping them in continuous touch with the conduct of foreign relations by the British Government.' (*Report,* p. 3).

Mr. Lloyd George, in his opening speech at the Conference, said:

> 'The direct communication between Prime Ministers, established during the war, has, I think, worked well, and we have endeavoured *to keep you thoroughly abreast* of all important developments in foreign affairs by special messages sent out weekly, or even more frequently when circumstances required. Indeed, at every important Conference, either here or on the Continent, one of the first duties I felt I ought to discharge was to send *as full and as complete and as accurate an account* as I possibly could, not merely of the decisions taken, but of the atmosphere, which counts for so very much. I have invariably, to the best of my ability, sent accounts, some of them of the most confidential character, which would give to the Dominions even the impressions which we formed, and which *gave you information* beyond what we could possibly communicate to the press.' (*Report,* p. 14).

That was a little too much for Mr. Hughes, who, in his opening speech, said:

> 'You yourself said yesterday, Sir, that direct communication between the Prime Minister of Great Britain and his colleagues had worked well. So it has; that is to say, the principle has worked well; but I think I ought to tell you, Sir, that it is rarely that one does not read in the newspapers, sometimes a day, sometimes more than a day, before receiving your telegrams, a very good imitation of their substance.' (*Report,* p. 19).

It will be observed that Mr. Lloyd George spoke only of sending information, not of eliciting opinion. How little information was sent may be seen by the following extract from Mr. Hughes's opening speech (italics now added):

> 'So when we see on every side the British line—or, if you like, the line of this Commonwealth of British nations—being lengthened and the line of defence necessarily thinned, the points of potential danger multiplied—we are naturally uneasy. We have seen that a cloud no bigger than a man's hand can cover the whole heavens. And so, Sir—I speak only for myself, of course—I am sure you will understand *our desire to know the reasons for your policy in Mesopotamia, in Palestine, in Russia, in Egypt, and your policy in Greece and Turkey.* If I have singled these things out, it is not because they cover the whole field of foreign policy, but because these matters are perhaps the most obvious. Now, if we are to have an effective voice in the foreign policy of this country, *we must first of all know precisely how we stand, and the reasons for the policy adopted and the extent to which we are committed to it.*' (*Report,* p. 18).

For nearly three years policies in these places had been pursued, and Mr. Hughes was still unaware of the reasons for them. Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Rowell and the rest of us would welcome enlightenment.

With reference to the future, Mr. Hughes said (italics now added):

> 'But the position in regard to policy in the future is very difficult. Every day a new situation arises or may arise. How is it to be dealt with? We shall be scattered to the four quarters of the earth. How are the Dominions to have an effective voice on foreign policy when, as things stand, *they can only be told after things have been done and are not consulted beforehand.*' (*Report,* p. 19).

When Mr. Hughes returned to Australia, he described the proceedings of the Conference with reference to foreign policy, as follows (italics now added) :

> 'The British Government recognized the right of Australia and the other Dominions to an equal voice in formulating the policy on foreign and imperial affairs, and *gave the Conference a very full and clear account of British policy all over the world.*' (*Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire,* January, 1922, p. 92).

The impossibility of carrying on foreign affairs by consultation with Dominion Premiers was affirmed by Mr. Lloyd George in his speech of 18 August, 1921. He then said that Prime Ministers may communicate with one another, but

> 'communications by cable are not a means by which you can have real consultation, because you have a particular point of view and may alter it, after hearing what is to be said on the other side.' (*The Times*, 19 August, 1921).

Lord Milner was of the same opinion. He said:

> 'But experience has shown that the consultation which is necessary in order to keep the different interests of the Empire in line cannot be properly effected by telegrams and despatches between half a dozen different Governments.' (*The Times,* 21 July, 1921).

The result is that

> 'the whole weight of the Empire is to be concentrated behind a united understanding and common action in foreign affairs,'

and that there is no means by which a 'united understanding' can from time to time be reached. At the Conferences there is, of course, a continuous appearance of consultation, and a man of Mr. Hughes's egotism may report to his parliament that with reference to the extremely difficult subject of Upper Silesia

> 'The matter was dealt with by the Conference as one at once vital and most urgent, and a policy was unanimously decided upon.' (*Hansard,* p. 11634).

But in the official report of the Conference, it is stated that

> 'The main lines of British policy in connection with the solution of this problem received the unanimous approval of the Conference.'

Policy as to Turkey. Consideration of the Turkish question well illustrates Mr. Hughes's assertion that after the close of the Conference we

> 'can only be told after things have been done and are not consulted beforehand.'

Prior to the Conference (10 August, 1920), a peace treaty with Turkey had been signed at Sèvres, but, owing to the fact that the *de jure* government of Turkey was at Constantinople while the Kemal Pasha revolutionary government at Angora exercised much the greater influence, the treaty had never been ratified. Thereupon, Greece had been requested by the Allies to take possession of the Smyrna district and, exceeding her mission, had entered into extensive, but not altogether successful, war with Kemal. The United Kingdom and France had favoured opposite sides. British policy was dependent upon the course of events. What the Conference thought of it, we have not been permitted to know. For present purposes, our ignorance is immaterial; for the point is that, whatever the Premiers thought, the circumstances which afterwards developed rendered their conclusions useless.

The month after their dispersion, France created a completely new situation by making a separate treaty with the Angora government (20 October). Lord Curzon protested (5 November) against

> 'A separate agreement concluded by one of the Allies with an enemy government without consultation with the remainder',

and during the next four weeks explanations and charges were interchanged (*Cmd.* 1570). For four months the new situation simmered, and then, after a five-day (March 22-26) conference at Paris between the representatives of the United Kingdom, France, and Italy, a document, in the nature of a treaty with Turkey and Greece, was agreed to and sent to Athens, Constantinople, and Angora for their assent. In many vital respects, this document differed from the Sèvres treaty, which the Premiers may have seen and possibly approved. But in the drafting of the new document and in the proceedings of the five-day Conference, Canada took no part. Anything that her representative may have done at the Imperial Conference was obliterated without his or his successor's knowledge. In order that we may enjoy consultation of that sort, we are said to have put our shoulders under a joint responsibility of world-wide extent.

Policy as to Egypt. The story is the same as to policy in Egypt, except that we know what the Premiers agreed to at the Conference, and we know to what extent it was changed without their knowledge. During the war, the United Kingdom had declared that Egypt was a British Protectorate. In order to secure Egyptian military co-operation, Lord Robert Cecil had proclaimed the intention to secure self-government for countries released from Turkish control. Lord Milner, the High Commissioner, had made a report recommending large concessions to Egyptian national ambitions. But Lord Curzon, the Foreign Secretary, and other Ministers (notably Mr. Churchill) did not approve the concessions, and, although the Milner report (20 December, 1920) had been published, refused to agree to them. At the request of Lord Curzon, the Egyptian Prime Minister, Adly Pasha, went to London for consultation. He arrived in July, 1921, while the Imperial Conference was sitting. In its report is the following:

> 'Close consideration was given to the question of British policy in Egypt and the future status of that country, and general agreement was reached regarding the principles by which His Majesty's Government should be guided in the negotiations with the Egyptian delegation.'

The principles were those which distinguished Lord Curzon's view from that of Lord Milner. They were pressed upon Adly Pasha, who declined to agree to them (15 November), returned to Egypt (8 December), and forthwith resigned his office. This was followed by riotous demonstrations against the British, accompanied by frequent loss of life and destruction of property. Lord Allenby, the British High Commissioner, who sympathized with Egyptian aspirations, was now in difficulty. He could persuade no Egyptian to assume office. He had to rely simply upon martial law. He arrested Zaghlul, the nationalist leader, and four of his chief assistants (20 December), and shipped them off to the Seychelles. The mobs he beat down with soldiery. But, at the same time, in a series of telegrams he told Lord Curzon that his policy was impossible of accomplishment. Thereupon, he was summoned to London. He arrived there on 10 February; had an interview with Curzon on that day; an interview with Lloyd George on the 13th; and two interviews with both statesmen on the 15th,

when an agreement on Allenby lines was reached. He left London on the 20th; was hailed in Cairo by grateful and enthusiastic crowds; and at once established civil government. The principal differences between the Curzon and the Allenby arrangements are:

(1) Lord Curzon (as he himself said in one of his telegrams to Allenby) was willing

> 'to abolish the Protectorate and to recognize Egypt as a sovereign state . . . only as part of a bargain which was rejected by the other party'—that is, by Adly Pasha.

And Lloyd George said in the House of Commons two days before Allenby's arrival in London:

> 'We are prepared to abandon the Protectorate, but it must be on clear, fundamental conditions.'

Allenby would have nothing of a bargain or conditions. Recognition, he said, must be by

> 'a unilateral declaration on the part of the British government.' 'Consequently' (he said in another telegram) 'it is necessary to abandon definitely the idea that the Egyptian question can be settled by means of a treaty.'

(2) Lord Curzon, contrary to Lord Milner's advice, insisted that British forces

> 'shall be maintained at such places in Egypt and for such periods as shall from time to time be determined. They shall also at all times have facilities as at present for the acquisition and use of barracks, exercise grounds, aerodromes, naval yards, and naval harbours.' (*The Times,* 5 December, 1920).

By the Allenby arrangement, all questions as to the location of British forces in Egypt, for security of the Suez canal, etc., are matters for subsequent negotiation.

(3) Lord Curzon required that the foreign affairs of Egypt should be conducted by a minister acting in 'the closest relations' with the British High Commissioner. That provision Allenby ruled out.

(4) Lord Curzon required the appointment of a British Financial Commissioner, with various supervisory functions. No external loan, for instance, could be raised without his concurrence. Much of all that Allenby ruled out.

(5) Lord Curzon required the appointment of a British Judicial Commissioner with various supervisory powers. Allenby ruled that out too.

Others of the Curzon requirements shared the same fate. Shortly, the Curzon plan, while dropping the word Protectorate, provided for its continuation, whereas by the Allenby plan Egypt became an independent sovereignty limited only by her own agreements with foreign Powers. The United Kingdom has made her 'unilateral declaration' and the United States has already sent recognition and congratulations.

An Imperial Navy. Throughout the whole history of the Conferences, the Admiralty and the Laurier principles with reference to navies—(1) an imperial navy to which the Dominions are to contribute in cash or in ships, and (2) Dominion separate navies—have opposed one another. Until the Conference of last year, Canada rigidly upheld her own view. As late as 1918, the Admiralty, in reply to a request for a scheme of naval defence, restated its view, only once more to be met by dissent from the Dominion Prime Ministers, as follows:

> 'The proposals set forth in the Admiralty Memorandum for a single navy at all times under a central naval authority are not considered practicable.'

At the recent Conference, although in Mr. Meighen's opinion 'the subject of military, naval, and air force . . . is not urgent,' and although it was not on the agenda, the Prime Ministers approved the Admiralty plan by adopting the following resolution:

> 'That, while recognizing the necessity of co-operation among the various portions of the Empire to provide such Naval Defence as may prove to be essential for security, and while holding that equality with the naval strength of any other Power is a minimum standard for that purpose, this Conference is of opinion that the method and expense of such co-operation are matters for the final determination of the several Parliaments concerned, and that any recommendations thereon should be deferred until after the coming Conference on Disarmament.' (*Report,* p. 6).

The existence of local navies which, as in Canada (by the statute of 1910), may or may not be available to the Admiralty in case of war, is, of course, incompatible with this resolution. And that is what the Premiers understood. Mr. Hughes, the Australian Premier, for example, addressing his Assembly

after the Conference (30 September, 1921), said that the Conference had decided

> 'that the Empire must have a navy at least equal to that of any other Power.'

A few days afterwards (6 October), he said that it had been settled

> 'that the Empire *qua* Empire must have a one-power standard as a minimum.'

To the same effect, Mr. Massey, the New Zealand Premier, said, in addressing his Assembly (13 October), that the Conference had adopted the resolution

> 'in the understanding that the ships should be Empire ships' and that 'the shares will be agreed to at the next Conference.'

It is, most unfortunately, significant that the 'other Power' referred to in the resolution of the Conference means the United States. Prior to the Conference, Canadian policy had been one of non-competition with the United States. The two countries have for one hundred years refrained from establishing war fleets on the lakes. Are we now to be brought into competition on the oceans?

The Washington Conference. In this connexion, the effect of the treaty recently arranged at Washington with reference to limitation of naval armaments must be observed. All the capital ships (ships over 10,000 tons), with certain specified exceptions, are to be scrapped—the *Australia* and the *New Zealand* included. With the exception of two British ships now being built, there is to be no new construction of British capital ships for a period of ten years. After that time, capital ships twenty years old may be scrapped and replaced, but no other construction of capital ships is to take place. The effect of this will be that Canada cannot during the currency of the treaty (till 31 December, 1936) possess a capital ship. She has none now, and she could construct one only by making an arrangement with the United Kingdom to replace one of the British ships. Such an arrangement could be made only by Canada agreeing to maintain the ship during peace and turn it over to the United Kingdom upon the outbreak of war. As Canada would make no such arrangement, she cannot possess a capital ship.

East Indians in Canada. Travelling still further from the agenda, the Conference (Smuts dissenting) passed the following resolution:

> 'The Conference, while reaffirming the Resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1918, that each community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities, recognizes that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The Conference accordingly is of opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians should be recognized.' (*Report,* p. 8).

Indians have no such 'rights.' According to the statutes of British Columbia, they are excluded from the franchise, and, according to Dominion statute, they cannot vote in British Columbia. If Mr. Meighen does not approve this legislation, the place for him to say so is in Canada and, preferably, on the floor of parliament. It is not in accordance with constitutional usage that, when acting as representative of Canada, he should assert that persons have 'rights' there which Canadian legislation denies.

Various Subjects. Upon still other subjects the Conference passed resolutions: imperial communications; wireless telephony; cable and wireless rates for press messages; Empire settlement and migration; Empire patents; and nationality. Would it not be advisable that Canadian Prime Ministers, now that the war is over, should remain in Canada?

JOHN S. EWART.

THE RELIGION OF THE AVERAGE DECENT MAN UNDER THE "GOOD EMPERORS."

IN our day, when the very complicated history of human thought in the first four centuries A.D. is being studied in a more enlightened manner than ever before, it is difficult for anyone but a specialist to keep up with the flood of literature, much of it very technical, which continues to pour forth in several languages on this and that aspect of the problem. It is true that we have in English several works, such as Legge's *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* and Glover's *Conflict of Religions,* from which an inquirer can learn much if he has no time to read further and attack the learned treatises of Dieterich, Reitzenstein, Norden, Clemen, Réville, and the still valuable older work of Boissier. Such publications again as the Loeb Classical Library and the handy little series of texts and translations issued by the S.P.C.K. make it possible for one who is not a classical philologist to form some notion of what civilized men of an older day believed or fancied. Yet I do not think much apology is needed for attempting to sketch, however imperfectly, what we may take to have been the notions of the ordinary respectable citizen of Gibbon's golden age, the five principates which succeeded the downfall, in A.D. 96, of the Flavian dynasty.

I would note first of all that the average man was then neither Christian nor Jew, as the adherents of these faiths were not numerous enough to enable them to be regarded as other than exceptional; that so far as this article is concerned he was a citizen or subject of the Roman Empire; that he was not a philosopher; and that on the other hand he was not one of those whose lack of education or of brains put them decidedly below the average. Such people, then as now, were mostly inarticulate, and consequently almost all record, even the vaguest, of their opinions has perished.

Also, as I am discussing the average *decent* man, I have little or nothing to say about a subject very interesting in

itself, maleficent and forbidden magic, which then flourished, as we know from many monuments. I want to try to picture the state of mind, in regard to religious matters, of the then equivalent of the ordinary church-goer of yesterday —I can hardly say "of to-day," for he seems to be getting extinct in English-speaking countries. Contemporary with the men of whom I write were the authors of the sub-apostolic Christian literature, including a few books of the N. T. itself; and this was the type from which Christianity and its chief rivals obtained the rank and file of their recruits.

The first point to be emphasized is that the average man had a religion, and on the whole took it rather seriously. Gibbon's epigram, that all the existing faiths were regarded by the philosopher as equally false, by the magistrate as equally useful, and by the crowd as equally true, is, like most epigrams, misleading if one tries to press it. It suffers, as one might expect from its date, from the then prevalent confusion of religion with mythology. The latter is always more or less on the surface, and changes rapidly; the former is at most ages and to the majority of mankind a vital thing. Gibbon's magistrate, to whom all religion was a convenient political device, providing sanctions which the uneducated could understand and obey, lived a century before the date I start from. He certainly would not pass as a portrait of the typical civil servant under Trajan, still less under M. Aurelius Antoninus. As Boissier has well pointed out in his History of Roman Religion, the wave of scepticism which characterizes the end of the Republic had receded from Augustus onward.

While however the average man had a religion, it would be inaccurate to say that he had a creed. It is noteworthy that there is no Greek word for sect, and no Latin one either, in our sense; for both *αἵρεσις* and *secta* signify a school of philosophical opinion. The same is true of such words as dogma and doctrine. The ancients had heard of the *dogmata* of Epicurus, the doctrine and discipline of the Stoics; but if you had asked Gaius or Seius what dogma the Pontiffs held on this or that subject, he would have stared and informed you that the Pontiffs were not philosophers. There is a docu-

ment[1] which has been described as a pagan creed; but it dates from the latter half of the fourth century, was composed by a philosopher, and is part of a movement, of which the Emperor Julian was the last great leader, to set up an organized Pagan church, on the model of the Christian establishment. But it should not be concluded that the average man had no ideas which might have been crystallized out into something like credal form. The average man of to-day would be much puzzled to give you a statement of his ethics; but he certainly has ethical ideas, if not a formal code, for he approves certain actions and disapproves of certain others. I try then, taking my material from non-philosophical writings as far as possible, to show what the average man did, whether consciously or not, believe in, to the extent of putting his belief into action.

First then as to the objects of his worship. We must, I think, recognize that though formally a polytheist he had strong monotheistic tendencies. The philosophers indeed were practically all monotheistic, though a few of atheistic or quasi-atheistic views were still to be found; and all at the same time were quite willing to admit the existence of a plurality of more or less divine beings, very like, indeed the ancestors of, the angels of orthodox Christianity. Language on this point tended to be very vague; non-committal words like *τὸ θεῖον*, *τὸ δαιμόνιον*, in Greek, *numen* in Latin, were current; it is often next to impossible to say whether *ὁ θεὸς* (outside of Christian or Jewish writings) signifies "God", "divinity", or "the particular god" under discussion. This vagueness is by no means confined to philosophic works, which were no doubt its place of origin; but we might perhaps say that its prevalence was due to the fact that everyone's education, if it got past the primary stage, included some tincture of popular philosophy; a fact very apparent from the commonplaces adorning tombstones, to be spoken of later on, and also from the writings of St. Paul, who assumes at every turn that his readers will understand a number of terms originating in the schools. But if we consider what people actually did we shall

[1]Sallustius, *de dis et mundo*: most easily available, in translation, in Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion.*

see that a belief closely akin to monotheism had won its way into the popular mind.

This was the tendency known as syncretism or theokrasia, and, like most ancient trends of thought, right or wrong, started from the Greeks. It originated in the simple theory, never I think enunciated in so many words, but universally assumed, that all men not only had need of the gods, as Homer says,[2] but worshipped about the same gods, some few benighted or stiff-necked nations leaving out a part of the pantheon, but none being quite independent of it. The most familiar instance of the workings of this creed is the identification, complete long before the period I am speaking of, of the Greek deities with the Italian numina. That Zeus and Iuppiter are the same deity is a position which in a sense can still be maintained; but it is a far cry from Hera to Iuno, who nevertheless were confidently identified, farther yet from Kronos to Saturn or from the mighty Poseidon to the insignificant Neptunus. Yet we hear of no faintest objection on anyone's part to these identifications, unless we count the early toleration of jokes about the gods in a Greek context[3] as indicating a faint consciousness that Zeus was not quite the same as Iuppiter Capitolinus. After all it was a natural belief enough; the Greek gods were true gods, so were the Roman; doubtless then they were the same. Later, this process was extended a step farther, and in the age we are dealing with the barbarian gods of the provinces had received what Tacitus[4] calls an *interpretatio Romana*. Thus Africa is credited by its own inscriptions with a fervent cult of Saturnus-Kronos; but the real name of the deity was of course Ba'al, or one of that much-developed god's numerous titles. Throughout the Keltic-speaking world the Graeco-Roman pantheon found a warm welcome, and mostly the native gods identified with its members sank into mere titles. Thus in Britain we have Mars Belatucadrus, Mars Ocelus, and a score of others; in Gaul Apollo Belenus flourishes greatly; while in the Germanic districts on the lower Danube, Siluanus was so enthusiastically

[2] *Od.*, III. 48.
[3] As in Plautus' *Amphitruo*.
[4] *Germania*, 43.

identified with the native god that the latter's name is well-nigh lost.

One with this syncretism, which becomes wider and wider spread, encouraged by the belief, popular among the learned, that all gods were personifications of the sun, went kathenotheism; by which is meant the tendency.—as old as Babylon, if not older.—to declare that whatever god one commonly worships or happens to be worshipping at the time is the greatest of all. Hebrew examples of this, long prior many of them to the late post-exilic development of their religion into a monotheism, are familiar to everyone: "For Yahweh is a great god and a great king above all gods"; "For great is Yahweh, and highly to be praised; he is to be feared above all gods. For all the gods of the peoples are things of nought; but Yahweh made the heavens"; "Worship him all ye gods." [5] Long before the age of which I am treating, Aeschylus had addressed very similar language to Zeus; but now the gods of the old Olympian hierarchy were beginning to lose their hold upon the general imagination, and sundry eastern figures were more prominent. The Golden Ass is by no means an original philosophical treatise; but in the great prayer to Isis which it contains[6] we find her at once glorified above and identified with all the greatest goddesses of the whole Mediterranean region. She has the keys of heaven and hell; she is the true deity who lurks behind the names of Hera, Demeter, Ma-Bellona, Artemis of Ephesos, and the rest; she is saviour of penitent sinners, patroness of mariners, ruler of the elements; till there is but little for the superb imagination of the Middle Ages to add when in its turn it sings the praises of a divine mother.

But for the most part those gods about whom men felt most deeply no longer walked openly as did the gods of Olympus. They must be sought in secret places, often by strange rites. How the various mysteries, public and private, originated and developed, is a question far too complex to be discussed now; let it suffice to note the undoubted fact that there were such, and that they were popular. As they were

[5]Ps. 95:3; 96: 4-5; 97:7.

[6]Appuleius, *Metamorph.* XI, 2, cf. 5.

mysteries, we know but little of the details of their rites or tenets; scattered allusions in the Christian apologists, the hymnbook of an Orphic conventicle, some interesting but puzzling monuments and one or two magical formulae which seem to contain Mithraic prayers, are the most part of our material. Lately there has been added a very important find which still awaits full interpretation. In 1917 there was excavated in Rome, near the Porta Maggiore and underneath the railway lines over which troops were continually passing on their way to repair the disaster of Caporetto, a subterranean basilica, perhaps dating from about 100 A.D., over whose frescoes and other details we are likely to have much interesting controversy.[7]

Patching various indications together we may form a not too inaccurate conception of what the worshippers in this and other such congregations believed and hoped. Their gods shared the characteristics of the deities already treated of. In our Orphic collection the most prominent feature is the monotonous alikeness of all the hymns, which ascribe much the same perfections to and ask for much the same benefits from each deity in turn, even the most obscure. Eastern and Egyptian figures are very prominent; now and then we find an odd composite image in which the sculptor, generally at great cost to the artistic merit of his work, has tried to combine the most miscellaneous and incongruous symbols. From what we can gather of the doctrines, if so definite a name can be given them, and if it should not rather be kept for the interpretations which the more learned of the initiate put upon them, they all emphasized two main points: the hapless state of the natural man and the glorious hopes held out to him by the grace of the gods. Surrounded on all sides by demonic powers, mighty to bless or ban, he was enabled, by approaching the right deity through the right ceremonies, baptism, confession, fast, sacrament, and other forms of purification from the fleshly environment and assimilation to the divine, to attain not only release from the worst of his troubles but actually divine rank for himself, or something very like it; at least, to parallel the sufferings and triumph

[7]See *Jour. of Rom. Stud.* IX, p. 78 ff.

of his god in a way closely reminiscent of certain features of the mysticism of St. Paul. "Be of good courage ye mystai, seeing the god is saved; for so shall we find salvation after our labours," says one fragment. And one explanation at least of this marvel was the theory, popular in the West from before Plato's day, that man is a fallen god, close akin to the gods above him even in the elements which compose his mortal body — the Mithraist, or some at least whose beliefs had a Mithraic colouring,[8] could, it seems, address his deity as "Earth of the earth in me, fire of my fire," and so on through the four elements—or if not that, then akin to them in the essential part at least of the soul, which for good or for evil is immortal.

But such raptures were not for the generality of mankind, any more than the experience of the more ardent followers of Fox or St. Theresa fall to the lot of the general run of Protestants or Catholics. They were in outline pretty generally known, hence probably the obvious allusions to them in the N.T., whose authors have not so far been proved to have been under much, if any, direct influence from such sources; and one gathers from Plutarch that practically everyone who had opportunity was initiated into one mystery-cult or another as a matter of course; but I doubt if they sank very deeply into the consciousness of our average decent man. This is particularly the case in the West, which though invaded by cult after cult was never the breeding-ground of them, and where we gather from Appuleius[9] that even after the active state opposition to such forms of worship as were regarded as immoral had subsided, mystics were apt to be looked at askance as something very like magicians. But the central idea of all or most of them, the god, Osiris or another, who suffers and dies like a man, and the man who comes to share the triumphant resurrection of his god, finds at least a close parallel in a belief widely held and responsible for that form of ancient worship which is perhaps the most alien from our feelings, as it was one of the most repugnant to the Christians and the Jews of that day. I refer to Caesar-worship.

[8]Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 3, 4.
[9]*Apologia, passim.*

If anyone still imagines that the deification of emperors, dead and living, was a mere piece of flattery, extorted by a tyrant or invented by base time-servers, I advise him carefully to read the first volume of Toutain's great work[10] on the Pagan cults under the Empire. There he will find page on page of facts, cold, hard and unyielding as the stones from which most of them are drawn, showing that the Caesarian cult was not imposed or even to any great extent regulated by the central authority, but rather forced upon that authority by the enthusiasm of every province; that it bears the stamp of sincerity and popularity; and that every class took part in it. No deity received more fervent prayers in all the West than Diuus Augustus; no temples were more honoured than those of members of the Domus Diuina. How can this be explained?

I think we shall come nearest to comprehending it if we recollect the Messianic hopes which were prevalent about this time, and particularly at the beginning of the Imperial epoch, so far as our records go. I say nothing of the Jewish beliefs in this context; we may I think safely say that they were merely one of the many forms which this hope took. Their own prophets had proclaimed not so much the coming of a divine or semi-divine being, as the consecration of the entire people to a lofty and divine mission.[11] That they turned from this great and inspiring vision and sought for individual divine leaders (notably from the days of John the Baptist to those of Bar-Cochba) is surely to be accounted for in part by the widespread Hellenistic expectation of an individual Messiah, Son of God and Saviour of the World, whose coming is hoped for by Virgil and who is identified, by those very titles, with a succession of Caesars from Julius to Hadrian, in official inscriptions all over the eastern provinces.[12] Never had stories of supernatural birth been more rife. To take two instances of men of most widely different character, Apollonios of Tyana was believed, if not by his contemporaries at least by his later biographers, to have been the son of Priapos,

[10]*Les Cultes païens dans l'emp. rom.*, especially vol. I.

[11]This does not include the very late Book of Daniel (not much earlier than B.C. 160).

[12]See Deissmann, *Light from the ancient East*, p. 368.

of all inappropriate fathers for that highly respectable paragon; while Sex. Pompeius proclaimed himself the son of Neptune and looked for help from his divine sire. Court gossip told strange tales of how this or that emperor had sought a veritable goddess in marriage; and later it was solemnly asserted that Plotinus the philosopher had no guardian daimon, like an ordinary man, but was under the immediate protection of one of the great gods.

Moreover, the East was used to divine kings. It was not merely the case that Alexander was declared, whether by credulous peasants or by subtle flatterers, to be the child of a daimon in serpent-form, and not of King Philip; nor that the whole dynasty of the Ptolemies were ex officio divine, Kleopatra VII notably appearing in public in the guise of Isis; but from time immemorial there had been throughout the Levant, from the Balkan massif to Egypt and from the Asiatic coast to the Tigris, all manner of priest-kings who were divine by reason of their assimilation to their gods. Orpheus, by what seems to me the probable interpretation of the tradition, was not one real man but many, successive incarnations of local forms of Dionysos, put to death by their worshippers and brought to life again in the shape of a new royal and divine figure. Emesa worshipped El-Gabal, the Sungod, and gave his name to the royal priest who served the temple; a fact which Rome later had good cause to know when one of those same priests was thrust by the caprice of the army on to the throne of the Caesars, which he polluted for some three years.

Nor was the West free from similar beliefs. Sir J. G. Frazer, following the lead of Mannhardt, has shown how great is the probability that the Kings and Queens of the May and other such figures of popular cult, descend from much more important royalties (in the religious, not the political sphere) of earlier times. Italy, generally speaking, is the region in which any such belief is hardest to trace; and it was not in Italy that Caesar-worship started. When we remember that the deities incarnated in these temporary kings and queens were apparently always agricultural, it becomes very easy to see why a popular empress is found on ancient monuments with the attributes of Demeter.

The average man then worshipped either the reigning emperor or one or more of the dead and officially deified ones, or both, and probably never knew that Seneca's venal wit had poured much scorn upon the divine Claudius,[13] once that well-meaning representative of the godhead had passed beyond the reach of his flatteries, or that Vespasian, who loved his jest, had roused his failing energies for that last grim quip *"Vt puto, deus fio."* That form of faith which is the predicating of reality of things outside our present experience (Anon. *ad. Hebr.* 11, 1: *ὑπόστασις ἐλπιζομένων*) has never been a common possession; and as the versifier[14] who assured Demetrios Poliorketes that he was a god near at hand and visible, while the others were far off and unapproachable, spoke for others besides himself, so the declarations of Horace that Augustus was, or soon would be, praesens deus and ruler of the universe under Iuppiter, found perfectly sincere echoes in the hearts of the subjects of the ablest government the world had ever seen.

Given such a cult, along with the cult of the local gods according to the local rites; given also the good communications all over the empire, which enabled Gaius to know what Seius in a town over the border of the province thought and did; and moreover the wide spread of at least the rudiments of education, and the popularity of books of miscellaneous learning, which gave an opportunity of some acquaintance with the customs and beliefs of foreigners; given also the syncretistic tendency already several times mentioned; it is no wonder that toleration for any and every form of cult not too flagrantly opposed to common honesty and decency was the order of the day, not only in the government's legislation but in the people's everyday conduct. Nor were they urged to any other course by the teachers likeliest to gain a hearing from them, satirists and other popular poets and rhetoricians. Juvenal is scornful of the Egyptians for a variety of reasons, but not least, it would seem, because each nome hates and despises the gods of the next. Maximus of Tyre thus concludes one of his best orations (VIII, Duebner, *an dis sint di-*

[13]In the *Apocolocyntosis.*
[14]*Apud Athenaeum,* 253d, ff.

canda signa) : "Why then need I any longer inquire and legislate concerning images? Let men know the divine race, let them but know it! If the art of Pheidias can arouse the Greeks to a remembrance of God; if the Egyptians can be stirred by their cult of beasts, and others by a river, others by fire, I have no fault to find with their diversity; let them but know, let them but love, let them but remember." All the law had to say was, that religious organizations must be properly registered and authorized; that ecclesiastical property must be respected, like any other; that there must be no human sacrifices and no secret assemblies which might breed treason; and, in particular cases, that it was A and not B who had the right to be curator of this particular temple. It is one of the curiosities of history that of the many Christian martyrs, hardly one can be proved to have been put to death for any reason connected with the fundamentals of his belief, but for a variety of accidental causes, mostly for boggling over certain quasi-religious ceremonies connected with the oath of allegiance, or in general, for refusal to obey the lawful commands of a magistrate. The few references to them indicate a puzzled and rather contemptuous inability to see what all the fuss is about, coupled with popular apprehension that mischief of a supernatural kind might arise, not out of anything the Christians believed, but as a result of their wide-reaching and impious—in short, Epicurean—disbelief.

Of the ethics of the average man at this time little need be said. As our own code is principally founded upon the Greek ethical writers, and our practice a more or less perfect following of this code, so it was then. I doubt if any serious opinion as to right or wrong conduct (apart from the tabus of the various religions) could now be made which would then have been regarded as unheard-of. But it may I think be fairly claimed that the approximation of practice to precept is a trifle less imperfect now than it was then; and the historical cause of this seems to be the widespread and persistent teaching of popularized ethics, under various names and with various sanctions, by Christianity in all its forms, though Christianity is not the only religion to do this, simply the most active. In particular, some progress has been made in

those virtues, both negative and positive, on which Christian teaching has agreed to lay most stress. It is probably fair to say that we are a little chaster than the people of A.D. 100-200, and practically certain that we are normally more humane. On the first point it is hard to get definite data, and what we take for greater looseness of conduct on the part of the ancients probably is very often no more than greater plainness of speech; on the second, we may point to concrete facts such as the far greater number of hospitals and other such institutions open to all and sundry for little or no payment; the absence of slavery and of such amusements as gladiatorial sports; and the bulky legislation, eked out by private and semi-public efforts, to restrain individuals from acts of cruelty towards children and beasts. But in these respects we have introduced nothing essentially new, but merely advanced a little beyond the stage reached under the Good Emperors, as an examination of their laws for the maintenance of orphan children, the restriction of the absolute rights of masters over slaves, and other such worthy ends will show. Indeed the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, afterwards widely popularized by Christian teaching, was then decidedly affecting ordinary thought, as a result of Stoic propaganda; and whether as a result of this or independently of it and owing to the partial abolition of the old class-distinctions which came with the passing of the Republic, we seem to find in such popular documents as tombstones a kindlier note in the reference to the lower social strata. Slaves in particular are often spoken of affectionately by their late masters, who many times are recorded to have borne the expense of a comparatively elaborate funeral; and the expressions of gratitude and esteem used by slaves and freedmen towards their masters or patrons do not by any means all ring false. Even those features in ancient life which are to us the most revolting, the gladiatorial shows, were equally repugnant to the best Greek sentiment; so much so, that when Athens proposed to emulate the Romanized Corinth and institute them, Demonax advised that they should begin by demolishing the altar of Mercy. And, though the activities of the R.S.P.C.A. would have greatly astonished Plutarch and

Seneca, to say nothing of the general run of first- and second-century mankind, they would also have gratified at least the two moralists.

So much for the general conduct of the average man's life at that time. Passing now to the great crises which come into it, we find that they are reduced to the familiar three displayed every day in our newspapers, namely birth, marriage, and death. As everyone who has studied the earlier stages of human development is aware, this is a reduction from a much longer list. Coming of age was but little more of a ceremonious occasion then than it is in the average family now. The State was too big for the individual to feel his relation to it as intensely as it is felt for example by a Masai warrior or as it was felt by the citizen of a Greek *polis* five or six hundred years before the age we are now studying. Patriotism was a very long way from being dead, but it was a less burning emotion, more a matter of reflection, and, what chiefly concerns us here, much less a matter of religion. The fact that a boy was old enough to be a warrior mattered comparatively little when there was only a small professional army (on an average, perhaps about the size of our own in 1913); and moreover this army had its own religion, different from that of the civilian[15] and but loosely related to most of the state cults, which I do not intend to touch upon here as the average man was then not a soldier; and the fact that a girl was old enough to marry concerned few outside her own family.

But around birth, marriage, and death there clustered then as now so great a number of ancient and deep-seated emotions that they never could become merely secular affairs. Around the new-born babe there centred a mass of very old beliefs, expressed in a ritual comparable not so much to our christening, though that had its equivalent in the ceremonial of the *dies lustricus* in Rome, the Amphidromia in Greece, and doubtless hundreds of similar performances elsewhere, but to the countless bits of old wives' lore still to be found up and down this and all other American and European countries. But in the second century the old wife was much nearer to

[15]See v. Domaschewski, *Religion des röm. Heeres.*

the priestess she once had been, at any rate in the average man's estimation, than she is now. She also was very likely a witch; but witches, white ones at least, were then under the ban of neither church nor state. So we may safely assume that the old spirits of birth, Lucina, Leuana, Vagitanus, Cuninus and the rest, were still invoked, or others corresponding to them; that at least in the country the time-honoured precautions against Siluanus were taken and the services of Candelifera required. But all this we may pass over with slight mention, because it was very old and is still with us, and likely to remain with us in some form as long as people deduce from the correct premise that birth is a marvellous thing the incorrect conclusion that it needs a great deal of ju-ju to help it out.

Even more fruitful of interesting ceremonies, then as now, was marriage. The chief difference, apart from details of ritual, between the marriage of those days and of our own was, that the relative importance of the various parts of the ceremony was more clearly understood. From the magico-religious point of view, the celebration of marriage consists of three main parts; the cutting off of the bride from her father's house (signified, probably, in Rome by the extinction of the lighted torch which had been carried before her; so far as she is concerned, her father's hearth is out) ; the bringing of her, during the short period in which she is without spiritual protectors, safely into the sphere of her husband's gods; and her union to them and to him. There are countless accessories, among the most respectable being the notification, in some form or other, to the State that a new household is founding, and the invocation of the gods of the state to bless the union. But in our ceremonial, these two intrusive features have grown so as to swamp all the rest, though our popular etiquette still retains a vague memory of where the real emphasis should come; for at the church the bridegroom is comparatively ignored—he really has little or no business there at all—while at the wedding breakfast he becomes a trifle more prominent; for there, since the sharing of food is a really binding part of the ceremonial, he is a necessary figure. But the Roman empire in the second cen-

tury still remembered that a bride should make a great show of reluctance at leaving home, still surrounded her with lucky objects, persons and words during the *deductio,* and still remembered to purify her with fire and water when she arrived at her new abode; though even then the church ceremony, so to call it, i.e., the sacrificial rites, and the mere gesture of betrothal—the joining of hands—was getting unduly prominent from the point of view of sound liturgiology.

Perhaps the religion of the average man of that day shows nowhere more inconsistent than in its attitude towards death. As most Westerners fear death more or less acutely there has always been much thought directed to it; and as this has resulted in the most varied opinions as to the effect on the individual of the end of his embodied existence, there has accumulated a vast mass of traditional lore much more easily capable of new accretions than of clearing out any of its older acquisitions. Only at long intervals does the coming of a masterful conquering race set a new fashion, or the introduction of a new religion like Christianity with a decided eschatology of its own stamp as heathenish some method or methods of disposal of the dead. And how incompletely the latter operates is clear when we reflect how much of our own ghost lore is utterly inconsistent with any orthodox theology, Catholic or Protestant. As neither of these causes had operated for a great while on the races of the Roman empire, the most bewildering variety of beliefs is to be found expressed in their practice, so far as we can gather it from the numerous references in literature and the vast storehouse of grave-inscriptions.

In the first place the simplest view of all, and the most persistent (for in obedience to it we still put flowers on graves, and often bury objects of more or less value in the coffin), namely that the dead man somehow goes on living in his tomb, is of continual occurrence. In one of Quintilian's declamations,[16] for instance, a murdered father appears to his daughter bidding her dig up and throw away the bones of his parricide son, which disturb his rest. Rhetoric of course; but the rhetoric of a practical teacher of that art, who would not

[16]Quint., *Declam.* 299 (p. 181, 19, Ritter).

show his pupils a means of rousing popular feeling which would not work in practice. Turn to the monuments, and you find, besides the innumerable magic epistles[17] sent to or in care of the dead and posted in the sepulchre, inscription after inscription which bids the survivors carry out this and that ceremony (such as the pretty *rosalia* and *uiolaria,* whereof we preserve traces) at the tomb, on stated days of the year; and to the same class of ideas belong the wishes, repeated over and over, in endless variants, in verse and in prose, of *"sit tibi terra leuis"* and *"molliter ossa cubent."*

At the opposite extreme may be placed the view that the dead man did not continue to live, in his grave or anywhere else. This, though properly due to philosophic reflection (since no one seems able to imagine himself ceasing to exist, however persuaded he may be that he will: I for one cannot vividly picture myself even going to sleep or yielding to an anaesthetic) was common, because not only Epicureanism, a doctrine somewhat discredited by that time, but the more orthodox form of Stoicism taught it. Hence a common epitaph is *"Non fueram; fui; non sum; non curo"* or the like. That many were actuated by it, or something sufficiently like it to free them from any lively terror of ghosts, is clear also from the very numerous inscriptions, notably from superstitious Asia Minor, which warn off the grave-robber by virtue not of the curse of the dead, but of a substantial money fine, payable to the central or the local government, which thereby acquired an interest in keeping the rest of the departed undisturbed.

But the extremists are always in a minority, and the great bulk of inscriptions lie between these two views. It is all very well for Juvenal[18] to say that no one out of the nursery believed in the conventional Hades any more; Charon has outlived him, in Greece at any rate, by some 1800 years, and is still so real to many that a ship of that name, not long before the war, could find no dockers to unload her at one of the Hellenic ports. So we need not suppose that all or nearly all of the conventional references to the Homeric other world which we find at this period are poetical flourishes. Lucian

[17]See Andollent, *Defixionum tabellae, passim.*
[18]*Sat.,* II, 194 ff.

would not treat dead or moribund views with the savage contempt he shows in his tract *On Mourning*, a performance by comparison with which Swift is a rather gentle writer with a trifle too much fondness for rosewater.

Still perhaps the most numerous of all are those inscriptions which speak of nothing but the sadness of death and the sorrow of those left behind. They help us to understand the popularity of any creed which confidently preached immortality, a popularity shown by the very considerable number of inscriptions containing allusions to this or that eschatological doctrine, such as the oft-repeated blessing, δοίη σοι Ὄσιρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ,[19] the Graeco-Egyptian equivalent of *"cuius anima in refrigerium."*

To complete the picture, one must add a mention of the many beliefs and half-beliefs which stand on the border-line of religion. Magic and astrology are far more widely believed in, and by much more educated people, than they are now. To the latter especially Christianity, after a bitter fight, unofficially succumbed, declaring it "damnabilis" and practising it, as the many MSS. of Firmicus Maternus indicate, to go no farther. Against the dangers of the former nearly everyone took precautions, several of which indeed still survive. Some few studied such matters in a half-scientific manner; there were learned investigators of necromancy from Cicero's day on, and Pliny the Younger had a pretty taste in ghost-stories and warnings and sought for explanations thereof. We may be very sure that the majority of mankind more or less whole-heartedly believed in such things. Herein doubtless we have changed very much; I dare say palmists' and astrologers' advertisements are only harmless jokes. Still, I have met a divineress of some education who took her art so seriously that she dared not consult the cards when her child was ill, and have myself acquired some reputation as a soothsayer by the aid of an old copy of Virgil, a fair acquaintance with my consultants, and one or two lucky guesses.

Altogether, the passage of eighteen centuries has made far less change in the religion of the average man than some people seem to imagine. That is one reason why writings in the "dead" languages are so alive and interesting.

H. J. Rose.

[19] "May Osiris give thee the cold water."

REFLECTIONS OF A PHYSICIST ON PROGRESS

IT is with some hesitation that one who is neither philosopher, historian nor theologian undertakes to discuss the subject of progress. The problem, dealing as it does with questions concerning man's origin, history and ultimate destiny, is so complex that it is difficult for the average man to see more than one of its many aspects. In its very complexity, however, the writer finds his apology for making the following remarks. The point of view of a physicist may not be altogether without value, even in a discussion of a question somewhat out of his special field.

I.

The idea of a progressive gradual improvement in the life of mankind, that the human race is surely, if slowly, approaching a terrestrial state in which conditions of living will be happier for all men, is distinctly modern. Like many other ideas, however, it had its origin in seeds sown in ages which knew not what fruit would be brought forth. Of its gradual development, Professor Bury has recently written in his admirable book, "The Idea of Progress," which has been freely consulted for historical details. If we go back to the time of Plato, we find no such belief. It is well to note, however, that in the faith of that idealistic philosopher, there is much in common with that of the most ardent modern believer in progress. For him there was an absolute Beauty, 'not waxing or waning, nor will it be fair here and foul there . . .'; for him, too, in spite of the fetters and shackles of his time, there was a high ideal for the soul of man, for 'she is akin to the Divine and Immortal and Eternal, and we should understand what she would become if she followed after it, with all her strength, and were lifted by that effort out of the sea where she now lies.' His Utopia, moreover, was no idle dream. The ideal state was a matter of prime importance to him, even if the pattern was stored in Heaven. The idea of 'service', too, was not absent from his writings. To quote from F. Melian Stawell, 'the true philosopher who has once

risen out of the cave must go back into it again and teach the prisoners.' But Plato, modern as he was, can hardly be called a believer in progress, for to him the ideal state was unattainable on earth. Numberless countries had passed from good to better, from better again to worse; the best future generations might hope for, was a succession of alternately good and decadent world-cycles.

In the philosophy of the Epicureans, as developed by Lucretius, we find a new note. As a result of speculations on the atomic theory of matter, the idea of a Golden Age was cast aside. Man was considered to have *progressed* from an early primitive state to his present much more advanced stage of civilization as a result of a continuous struggle against adverse conditions. But there was no optimistic look to the future. In their philosophy of resignation, the Epicureans were true to the earlier Greek philosophers.

In Seneca we find a more marked suggestion of a possible belief to progress. Listen to what he says. "In time to come men will know much that is unknown to us. Many discoveries are reserved for future ages when our memory will have faded from men's minds. We imagine ourselves initiated into the secrets of nature; we are standing on the threshold of her temple." Here surely we have the statement of a belief in the progress of *knowledge*. Of a gradual improvement in the lot of mankind in general, however, we find no expectation. To Seneca apparently the great value of scientific discovery lay in the freedom from earthly cares which was the portion of the discoverer. The natural philosopher could live in a world of his own apart from the misery of his less fortunate fellowmen. That future discoveries might possibly improve the lot of mankind could scarcely have entered the mind of one who could say, 'This was the complaint of our ancestors, this is our complaint, this will be the complaint of our posterity, that morality is overturned, that iniquity reigns, that humanity is growing worse and sinking into every sin. But things remain in the same place, and will so remain, moving only a little this way or that like the waves of the sea.'

While it is evident, therefore, that the modern idea of progress was absent from the thought of the ancients, it is

well to note that conditions did not become favourable for its birth until centuries later, when man's outlook on life was largely changed by the revival of Greek learning.

With the advent of Christianity, it would seem as if the soil should have become favourable for the rapid germination of seeds of progress. Jesus' message that God was the father of all mankind, and the Apostle Paul's insistent teaching that Christianity was for Gentile as well as for Jew, introduced an element in man's view concerning his fellowman which is implicit in the modern conception of progress. How, then, was it that for so many centuries after Rome became Christian we find not the slightest suggestion of progress? In answer to that much may be said. In passing we note but two reasons. While Christianity gave men a forward look, thoughts of its early disciples were directed rather to the future of the individual after death than to an improvement in the welfare of future generations. Take for example the case of Roger Bacon, the Franciscan friar of the 13th century. Here we have a man who in his method of attack on problems of Nature was essentially modern; one, too, in whom we see the first gleam of the light which was soon to burst forth in the dazzling brightness of the Renaissance. And yet in Bacon's horizon the coming of the anti-Christ, of the end of the world, loomed up as the big event to be expected in the near future. 'We are not far from the times of Anti-Christ.' Bacon, too, was not concerned with the terrestrial welfare of future generations.

A second reason why Christianity, with its message of hope, failed for so long to inspire any belief in progress, we find in the slowness with which men have grasped the significance of Jesus' statement—'The Kingdom of Heaven is within you.' As we in the twentieth century are far from realizing its implications, it is not surprising that mediaeval Christians failed to do so.

During the middle ages, therefore, conditions were altogether unfavourable for the development of any optimistic views concerning the future of the human race. Before that was possible, a decided change in the focus of man's thinking was necessary, and it was not until the Renaissance that the

great change took place. With the advent of Humanism it was no longer inconceivable that man might improve his state as a result of his own efforts in understanding and in controlling his environment. For the first time we hear (from Francis Bacon) the doctrine that utility is the end of knowledge. It is significant, too, that in the Utopias of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the ideal state is for the benefit of all classes, not for a favoured few. But the great change was not accompanied immediately by modern views of progress. Even Bacon spoke of his own age as 'the old age of humanity.' Moreover, many men, in throwing over the authority which held absolute sway in the dark ages, looked back to the ancient Greek philosophers to such an extent as to set up a new authority, that of the past. Then began that conflict between the ancients and the moderns which has elements in common with the controversy which forms the subject of this paper. Apparently, however, the disputants were concerned with the progress of knowledge and not with questions relating to the general well-being of mankind. The modern idea of progress is still absent, as will be evident from the following remarks of Perrault, one of the champions on the modern side. ' . . . within the last twenty or thirty years more discoveries have been made in natural science than throughout the period of learned antiquity. I own that I consider myself fortunate to know the happiness we enjoy; it is a great pleasure to survey all the past ages in which I can see the birth and the progress of all things but nothing which has not received a new increase and lustre in our own times. *Our age has, in some sort, arrived at the summit of perfection.* And since for some years the rate of the progress is much slower and appears almost insensible . . . . it is pleasant to think that probably there are not many things for which we need envy future generations.'

In these remarks of Perrault one is struck with the note of satisfaction with things as they are, as well as with the entire absence of a vision of a more glorious future. The key note of the seventeenth century 'progressives' was growth of knowledge. The life of the 'under-dog' had nothing to do with the problem. Soon, however, a new conception was

introduced in the idea of progress. The very advances in knowledge in which men of this period gloried and which appealed to an ever increasing number, forced men to a consideration of the social significance of the new discoveries. Of what use are scientific discoveries if the lot of mankind is not thereby improved? And so in France in the eighteenth century we find the Encyclopaedists insisting that side by side with progress in knowledge goes an improvement in the welfare of mankind. For the first time, I suppose, we have the formal theory that man's lot, indeed man himself, can be made better by improving his external conditions. Such a belief was based—to borrow a phrase from Professor Bury—on *a priori* theory, 'the indefinite malleability of human nature by education and institution.' Surely here is the view of progress held by almost all reformers of the twentieth century.

The same belief was reached by another road—that of the economists. Men soon saw that a study of the production and the distribution of wealth could not be divorced from social questions, and economists came to the belief that increase in the wealth of a nation meant increased happiness for its people. Expansion in trade and division of labour meant a higher state of civilization—at any rate a more comfortable existence for mankind. As an illustration of the rosy optimism of at least some of the eighteenth century men, let me quote Priestley: ' . . . nature, including both its materials and its laws, will be more at our command; men will make their situation in this world abundantly more easy and comfortable; they will probably prolong their existence in it and will grow daily more happy . . . Thus, whatever was the beginning of this world, *the end will be glorious and paradisiacal beyond what our imaginations can now conceive.* Extravagant as some people may suppose these views to be, I think I could show them to be fairly suggested by the true theory of human nature and to arise from the natural course of human affairs.'

Here we have a conception of progress essentially similar to the modern view. Moreover, in the eighteenth century, side by side with the development of this optimistic outlook,

there grew up two other broad principles which cannot be overlooked in a study of progress. First of all, there was that of the 'solidarity of the human race.' The teaching of economists, combined with the object lesson of ever increasing commercial intercourse, forced men to realize something of the inter-dependence of various races and regions. Again, as progressive views became more and more disseminated among all classes of men, one is not surprised to see developing the doctrine of Natural Rights — of Justice, Liberty and Fraternity. 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness, that to secure these rights Governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.' One does not need to be a citizen of the United States to appreciate the intensity of belief behind these words. Now, while these two principles may not necessarily be a part of the creed of a man like Priestley, I think it is not unfair to insist that they are elements in the modern idea of progress.

The tremendous advances in the nineteenth century served but to accentuate the views held by Priestley. The rapid development of machines with the resulting increase in man's power, the discovery of numerous applications of electricity, side by side with steady advances in all branches of science, both knit the peoples of the world more closely together in an hitherto undreamed of fashion, and, rightly or wrongly, led many men to confuse the comforts of civilization with real progress. We have X-rays, colour photography, flying machines, pullman sleeping cars—of course we are progressing and rapidly at that. Even the dullest imagination, cognizant of the truly wonderful changes a generation had brought about, could scarcely fail to dream of an even more wonderful future. It remained only for the scientific philosophy of Spencer and of Darwin to entrench this view of progress so strongly that during the last part of the nineteenth century it became the accepted, if unanalysed, creed of a large number of men of all classes.

From the brief outline of its development which has been

given, it will be evident that the modern view is largely the outcome of rationalistic arguments. Take, for example, the views of Spencer. While it is true that he postulated the existence of an Unknowable behind all activities, he was led to his very optimistic views entirely as a result of deductions from observed laws of differentiation; of ever increasing complexity arising from simpler antecedents. He and many others of his generation are what Dr. Inge, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, doubtless would call evolutionary optimists. Now, while this is the case, it is equally true that, in spite of the nineteenth century controversy between science and religion, many believers in progress were by no means rationalists. The writer is probably typical of many children of that century for whom a belief in progress was held together with an acceptance of the fundamentals of Christianity. Indeed, it is quite possible that belief in the teaching of Jesus provided one with an additional argument for including progress in one's creed. At any rate, I am inclined to think that one reason why so many of the idealistic youth of recent decades have had such an optimistic view of the future is to be found in the trend of recent times to return to the historic Jesus. There is no longer any quarrel between science and religion; in our pulpits we hear much less about saving one's soul from future misery in an abode not terrestrial, much more about saving one's soul by loving one's neighbour as oneself; and we have the widespread popularity of such books as T. R. Glover's *Jesus of History* which seek to drive home the reality of Jesus' optimistic teaching. But, whatever the causes, I think it can be taken for granted that with the beginning of the nineteenth century, optimistic views concerning the future terrestrial welfare of mankind were part of the creed of many men. Striking confirmation of the truth of this, as well as of the intensity with which the belief was held, is found in connexion with the great catastrophe which began in July, 1914. Whatever may have been the motives of many who enlisted, there is no question that there were thousands of the finest type of manhood who did so because of a willingness to die for the sake of the future welfare of their fellow-men. 'Making the world safe for democracy' is a phrase which may

provoke a cynical smile, but it *is* a fact that men did deliberately lay down their lives because of a belief in the ideal implied in that much used or abused phrase. And in that ideal is involved the conception of progress.

II.

Now what about the other side of the picture? Horrors of the war, the disillusionment of the post-war period, Bolshevism—in the face of these who among the optimists dare not pause? Is it any wonder that belief in progress has been challenged? To be sure there has always been the opposite school. Every age has had those for whom the glamour of the known past is much greater than that of the unknown future. There have always been those, like Mr. Beresford's Lynnekers, who 'accepted and glorified the past. They referred to it as to an ideal that might and should be reconstructed. The old had been tried and was approved; the new was suspect, and better avoided. . . Before this, that and the other—the French Revolution, the Hanoverian succession, the Civil War—every thing had been, somehow, more glorious, finer, more desirable. . . . They sought no explanation of life; the explanation had always been given by a preceding generation.' Then, too, there had been others like Goethe, conservative by reason rather than by temperament, who saw no cause for optimism concerning the future. 'Let Humanity,' says Goethe, 'last as long as it will, there will always be hindrances in its way, and all kinds of distress, to make it develop its powers. Men will become more clever and discerning, but not better nor happier nor more energetic, at least except for limited periods . . .'

But on the whole, at the beginning of the twentieth century it was to the future rather than to the past that most men looked. 'The best is yet to be,' was a common creed. And then came the disillusionment of the last few years. Now one can scarcely pick up a magazine or paper of any description without finding some arresting challenge to the believer in progress. In almost every literary and journalistic quarter one finds the same note. 'England has no time for God,' says James Douglas in the London *Express*. 'She is ill at ease. She

is vexed and wrought and distressed by a profound spiritual malady, a sickness of the soul. . . The times that are—could they be viler?' Hear the Bishop of Durham. 'I read books on Socialism, written by Oxford men, men who profess the loftiest moral idealism, but in which I find so admirable a doctrine as ca' canny recommended to the workers and defended as a principle. . . Think of the conditions of our time, of our mentality, when shirking can be extolled as a doctrine of idealism, slacking a virtue, dishonesty, the road to the millennium. One is simply aghast.' Or, it may be the journalistic voice of Harold Begbie: 'Who would not stake his life that we are a thousand times more dishonest than our fathers? —dishonest, too, without the smallest sense of shame. . . . For want of the individual conscience, we are fast becoming a nation of thieves. Honesty, the bed rock of English character, is regarded merely as a social convention.' Lord Hugh Cecil, too, in some remarks on Europe, makes one pause: 'Survey Europe from the Shannon in the west to the Vistula and Danube in the east, and you will find everywhere the traces of the embittering and devastating influence of nationalism. . . . As things are the spirit of nationalism rages like a pestilence. It is the curse of Europe.' Finally, I quote from Hamilton Fyfe's book, *The Making of an Optimist.* 'The civilization which I had once thought to be the highest yet achieved by humanity now seemed mean and shallow. It seemed for a few the utmost material comfort and mechanical convenience, while it left the mass to struggle for scarcely more than bare subsistence, with destitution never far away.'

Such statements one could multiply. The above, however, are sufficient to emphasize my point, that during the last few years the most complacent optimist has been forced to reconsider his position. What, then, I have asked myself, is to be said against the view that the best is yet to be?

First of all, there is the undoubted fact that the results of science have been used for the destruction as well as for the benefit of mankind. 'The discovery of flying'—to quote from a recent article by Dean Inge—'has so far been an almost unmixed curse to humanity, and is a menace to the very existence of civilization.' Indeed, examples of the

destructive uses to which scientific applications may be put have been so numerous and so evident in the recent war that we find in the last presidential address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, an appeal to its members to set their faces against this 'degradation of science.' Closely allied to this objection is the somewhat strange argument that preventive medicine, because it has made it possible to maintain in good health enormously increased armies compared with those of old, is thereby an agent for the greater destruction of mankind.

Again, over against those scientists who maintain that evolution and natural selection lead not only to an ever increasing complexity but also to a more and more happy state, we may put the views of Huxley: 'So far from gradual progress forming any necessary part of the Darwinian creed, it appears to us that it is perfectly consistent with indefinite persistence in one state, or with a gradual retrogression.' By way of illustration one may point to the apparently static state of the civilization attained by such animals as bees and ants. How do *we* know that we shall not shortly reach a similar static condition in which a balance is maintained between creative and decadent influences? Moreover, it may be asked, why talk of future progress when everyone knows that we are rapidly using up our coal supplies and destroying our forests, upon which our activities almost entirely depend. What sort of progress can there be at a time when all available sources of energy are dissipated? Besides, there is no guarantee of the eternal existence of this planet of ours. Some day another heavenly body may bump into it and there will be no one left to 'progress.'

Another position it is easy for the pessimistic school to take is practically identical with the theory of world-cycles held by the ancients. History tells us that decay has been the fate of all civilizations. It was the fate of Rome, it will be also that of the much boasted western civilization of to-day. The best one can hope for is a recurrence of periods of blossom and of decay. 'Whether we like it or not,' says the Dean of St. Paul's, 'no other view of the macrocosm is even tenable.' At the present moment when, as has already been pointed out,

one finds everywhere pessimism concerning the conditions of society, this argument has particular weight.

Perhaps, however, the strongest general argument in favour of the negative position, is found in the indictment which may be brought against the age of machinery and its effect on the happiness of mankind. There is no question that much may be said in support of the view that now-a-days men are less happy — at any rate not more happy — than before the industrial age. To quote Galsworthy: 'We used to have the manor house, with half a dozen hovels in its support. Now we have, say, twenty miles of handsome residences, with a hundred and twenty miles of ugly, black streets, reeking with smoke and redolent of dullness, dirt and discontent. Proportions are unchanged.' Others may argue that proportions *are* changed, and in the wrong way. And, indeed, if one cares to make even a superficial contrast of the life of the working man before the industrial revolution with that of the early factory period, one finds all too much evidence of a less happy condition. A glance at some pages in the Hammonds' *The Town Labourer,* 1760-1832 is sufficient to make one hot with a sense of injustice. 'Whilst the engine runs the people must work—men, women and children are yoked together with iron and steam. The animal machine—breakable in the best case, subject to a thousand sources of suffering—is chained fast to the iron machine which knows no suffering and no weariness.' And again, 'at Tyldesley they work fourteen hours per day, including the nominal hour for dinner; the door is locked in working hours, except for half an hour at tea-time; the work people are not allowed to send for water to drink, in the hot factory; and even the rain water is locked up, by the master's order, otherwise they would be happy to drink even that.'

But factory conditions have improved so much that it is not fair to press this argument, and we turn to others more applicable to present day conditions. Take the question of division of labour. This is now carried out to such an extent that thousands of men spend the whole of their working-day as mere automatons. All day long a man may stand beside a machine turning out screw heads ,each of which is one small

part of a completed whole. Of initiative on his part, none is required. He is part of the machine. Of joy in his labour—and did not the preacher of old say that this was man's portion—how can there be any? How can creative impulses be born under such conditions? The man's main interest is in his pay cheque and his hours of freedom. Is it any wonder that psychologists find 'in the inhibition which automatic tools place upon the expression of personality' one cause for the present industrial unrest? Before the machine age, the hand labourer had to work long hours, it is true, but in many cases he was his own master, he had not to work in the super-heated atmosphere of a factory, and the joy of creation was always his. Now he is only a unit in a highly complex social organization, performing duties which make so little demands on his intelligence that atrophy of many functions is bound to set in. In other words, it may be argued, the increasing complexity which Herbert Spencer took as evidence of progress, in reality is stunting the development of the lives of many, belittling instead of enriching.

If it be said that the modern worker works only eight hours a day or less, it is answered that his greater freedom has brought him no increase in happiness. Too much time hangs heavy on his hands, and such things as 'movies' fill most of his spare hours. Moreover, it is frequently possible for a mere youth, without either education or apprenticeship, to obtain wages sufficient to keep a family. The inevitable result is the production of a less skilful, less self-reliant, more animal type of man—the production of the unfit rather than the survival of the fit.

An indictment of another kind may be brought against the industrial age. The modern workman, it is said, is free only in name. As William Morris puts it in *A Dream of John Ball,* 'He must needs buy leave to labour of them that own all things except himself and such as himself.' Moreover, although now-a-days the average individual has control over thirty-three horse-power, there is still not always enough food to go around. Invention and the 'bringing over night of wares from Durham to London' have not fulfilled Dryden's prophecy of a universe 'where some may gain and all may be supplied.'

There is, too, it is said, less beauty in man's surroundings since the iron age had its birth. Look at the ugly factories with their tall chimneys belching forth dense clouds of black smoke which befoul the grass and cut off the sunshine. Look at the huge industrial centres where men must live in crowded houses, ill-ventilated and ill-built, and look at these houses themselves. The most ardent believer in progress will scarcely find any beauty in them compared with the artistic gables of the middle ages. And even in a non-industrial centre, such as Cambridge, England, who in walking from a bit of the old town to a modern street with its prim row of neat dwellings, is not struck with the contrast? Moreover, not only is there less art in man's building, but also in practically everything that is made. The machine turns out thousands and thousands of articles, all of the same type, lacking in beauty, often in sound workmanship. Cheaper such articles may be, but how much is not trash that would be dear at any price? And concerning any advance in painting or even in music, who will place the artists of the twentieth century beside the great masters of the past?

Finally, there is the denial that in history any evidence can be found to show that man has advanced at all except in extending the field of knowledge and in the better control of his environment. Physically we are neither more beautiful nor stronger than men of ancient days; intellectually we are, if anything, inferior to the Greeks, while, morally, although outwardly some improvement may be evident, it cannot be proven that under equal temptations we should be a whit the better than men of old. Recent war atrocities show what at least a portion of the western race is capable of. Moreover, the optimistic view, to quote Dean Inge once more, 'has distorted Christianity almost beyond recognition.'

III.

Now what about the case for the other side? Can the above arguments be refuted? Let us, at any rate, see how far they may be met. First of all, take the statement that the advances of science may be used for man's destruction as well as for his benefit. That is perfectly true, but it is no

argument either against 'wicked science' or the possibility of increased future benefits. The evil is the result of lack of goodwill in man, not of anything inherently evil in science. When Lamech killed the young man of whom we read in the book of Genesis, no doubt he picked up the first tool in brass or iron which was most convenient. But it was an uncontrolled temper which was responsible for the killing, not the tool, and it is no argument against the benefit of such a tool to his fellowmen to say that Lamech used it to kill a man. Granted the right spirit in man, there is no question that scientific discoveries *do* mean progress in the higher sense in which we have been using the word.

Moreover, it is a question whether the beneficial uses resulting from those very inventions which have been misused, do not outweigh the evils. Take, for example, chlorine gas and its diabolical use in the recent war. Awful as was the suffering and destruction caused by it, on the other side, there is the great gain to mankind because of its disinfecting and deodorizing properties. Then, too, there is the long list of discoveries, particularly in medical science, which have been used solely for the help of mankind and have undoubtedly raised the level of human existence.

Again it was said that because we are rapidly exhausting our energy sources, there is the possibility of the earth becoming uninhabitable—not to mention the possibility that it may be destroyed altogether as a result of a celestial collision. Regarding the latter, astronomers assure us that the danger is so slight that it is not a matter of 'practical politics'; regarding the former, one may point to recent investigations in Physics which have revealed stupendous sub-atomic sources of energy. It is true, as yet no way has been found of utilizing these vast stores, but the long record of scientific advances in the past is an assurance that we need not despair of doing so in the future. The existence of the race on this planet is therefore highly probable for so long a period that questions concerning its future are at least worth considering; and the above is no argument *against* progress.

But what shall be said to show that the age of machinery has meant progress? One admits the truth of much which

has been said against it, but here too there is the other side. One wonders if those who lived in the hovel near the manor house would not have preferred the house in the crowded smoky street. The age of machinery has at least brought bath-tubs to the door of everyone. One wonders, too, if the mediaeval town-dweller, if given the chance, would not have sacrificed the artistic appearance of his home in order to live in a street free from open sewers and unsavoury odours. Factory conditions, it is true, not many years ago were deplorable but it is a far cry from *The Town Labourer* to Seebohm Rowntree's *Human Factor in Business.* Whether their motives are philanthropic or not, men are learning that labour is more than a mere item in the expense sheet, and in many modern factories, consideration of the human element is taken as a matter of course. The writer recalls a visit to the great jam factory of Chivers in England and the many evidences of consideration for employees shown there. Many of the hands had only their labour to sell but how many of them would agree with William Morris's contention that they were free only in name.

It is true, too, that the work of many in that factory had a deadly monotony, and it may well be asked if they too would not become automatic, losing the power of initiative and having no joy in their work. The point is admitted, but it must be remembered that the age of machinery has brought within the reach of all workers a new world to counteract the danger of atrophy. There is first the intellectual realm made accessible by the vast output of books and papers. I have not figures, but I think there is no question of an enormous decrease in illiteracy. But, it is said, what good does the trash most of them read do them? Much of it undoubtedly is trash, but the fact remains that a powerful force to exercise the imagination is operative among labourers of all classes which was absent in days not so long ago. In another respect, modern labour conditions tend to counteract atrophy. I refer to the independence resulting from a sense of power, born partly of unions, partly of the possibility, in the modern industrial world, of a labourer rising to the status of an employer. The modern labourer, whatever his grievances, is not a slave.

Then, there is the question of his short hours. For many there is no doubt that this is by no means an unmixed blessing —'movies' all too often take most of his spare time. But again there is the other side. Short hours make it possible for a man to live in surroundings far from the scene of his labours. Cases where he has a garden and even grows flowers are not unknown. Moreover, a glance at the educational history of a country like England for the past hundred years, will show how far the road has been travelled in that direction. Those spare hours can be and in many cases are being used to advantage.

Turning to the question of art, no one will deny that in some branches there has been decadence. So evident is this that the writer perhaps is presumptuous in suggesting that some hope for the future is found in the widespread recognition of that fact. If—to quote from a recent reference by Mr. A. Clutton-Brock to William Morris—'there were causes for the decay of taste and the decline of the arts, causes as much subject to the will of man as the causes of any kind of social decay or iniquity,' and if 'all art is intimately connected with the whole of our social well-being,' it is not unfair to argue that with improvement in our social well-being should come an improvement in the artistic expression of 'all things made by man.' It is to be noted, too, that Morris printed his beautiful editions on a press which may fairly be called a piece of machinery, and in spite of the highly coloured pictures of popular military or political heroes which adorn the walls of many a home, one cannot forget the great output of reprints of all that is best in the world of artistic painting. Then, too, one may even find hope in the revolutionary schools of modern days. Whatever one may think of futurist and other modern schools (about which the writer can give no intelligent opinion), they at least show that modern art is not stagnating from either lack of effort or slavish imitation of the past. In this connexion I have seen it stated that 'every great era of art and of literature has been preceded by a period of crude and restless experimentation.' If that is true, surely there is hope for the future

It is well to note one other point. While no number of

scientific discoveries can be of use in causing a re-birth of art, science *can* be of use in perfecting the expression of an artistic idea. There is no question, for example, that a knowledge of the scientific laws of colour vision can be of great assistance to the artist in his use of colour. I think, too, I am correct in stating that the success of the Florentine school is, to some extent, the result of a combination of artistic expression with a knowledge of scientific laws relating to the theme. For example, the artist did not despise a knowledge of anatomy. To quote Mr. Clutton-Brock again: 'All this science of his enriched his art so that there has never since been drawing like the Florentine drawing, at once so logical and so expressive!'

Finally there is the world-cycle theory and the denial of any real progress apart from increase in knowledge—and even regarding that, the preacher of old said, 'He that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow.' Now, while the biologist may be able to say something by way of retort, on the whole, in my opinion, it is not possible to disprove the world-cycle theory. Nor, in spite of the present status of womanhood and the absence of slavery, do I think it possible to *prove,* as one proves a proposition in Geometry, that there is more general happiness to-day than say 2000 years ago. What then is my view? Can one go no farther than Peter Westcott, who after much striving and perplexity reaches the position described by Hugh Walpole in his recent book, *Thirteen Travellers*.. 'For the first time in his life that sense of disappointment that had been for so long a stumbling block to all his effort left him. He felt as though, like Pilgrim, he had suddenly dropped his pack. Children in the nursery—the lot of them. No place in this world for high indignation, for bitterness, for denunciation.

'The injustice, the ill-humour, the passions of life were like the quarrels in children's play; the wisest man alive knew just as much as his nursery-walls could show him. . . . The new world? Perhaps. *The progress of the world? Perhaps.* . . . Meanwhile, there was enough to do to help in keeping the nursery in order, in seeing that the weaker babies were not trodden upon, in making sure that no one cried himself to sleep.

'Anger and condemnation would never be possible again; no, *nor would he expect the millennium.*'

Can one go no farther than this praiseworthy but agnostic position? To my mind, one can—and my reason, because man does not live by bread alone. In any consideration of progress, there is another factor which cannot be left out. Explain it how you will, it is a fact that the strong do help the weak. There *are* men who put the general good before their own advantage. However one may view their actions, it is still the case that young men live in districts like the East end of London to be among their fellow-men as those who serve. It is still true that each generation sees thousands of the youth of both sexes taking the harder road because of devotion to an ideal. Further, it may be a platitude to say that wealth and the material comforts of civilization do not bring happiness, but it is a fact which cannot be put aside in a discussion of progress. Men everywhere will testify that in losing their lives they have found them. The world contains a goodly number of people who, in calling themselves Christian, admit that, in loving one's neighbour as oneself, is found a potent means of bettering society. As one of that number, therefore, in spite of my inability to prove my case, I *believe* in progress. I admit freely that this is to agree with Professor Bury, who says: 'belief in it is an act of faith,' but I maintain that scientifically there is something to be said for believing where one cannot prove. Belief in progress is not unlike belief in the Electron Theory of the structure of matter. The existence of electrons cannot be proven. The value of such a theory, however—to quote an eminent physicist (the late Professor Poynting)—'lies in the mental picture which it enables us to perform of processes of which the details are beyond the range of the senses, in the number of different phenomena which it will represent, in the lines of research which it will suggest.' The Electron Theory does not explain *all* the facts which come under the purview of the physicist; more than once it has been revised as new facts have been discovered, but it is the working faith which leads us farther on. And so I believe in the theory of progress because it is the best explanation I am able to offer

of the increasing complexity of human life, and because it is a working faith, which, when put into practice, does improve the lot of mankind. My position, then, is much the same as that of another scientist, Professor Thomson, of Aberdeen, who in his recent book on *The Control of Life* comes to this conclusion: 'The facts warrant the belief that many of the shadows and disharmonies of human life can be got rid of when Goodwill joins hands with science.' It is because, side by side with an undoubted increase in man's knowledge of his environment and indeed of himself, I see evidences of this spirit of Goodwill, that I have hope for the future.

My belief is strengthened when I note that, in spite of the pessimistic tone of so many of the writers of to-day, there are few who do not sound a note of hope or suggest some remedy for the ills of modern civilization. Galsworthy does not despair: 'one hundred and fifty years perhaps from now, human life may really be dignified and beautiful, not just a breathless, grudging scramble from birth to death, of a night with no stars out!' Hamilton Fyfe has hope: 'The old order has seen the writing on the wall, it has been weighed and found wanting. Faith in the power of love can transform it more rapidly and smoothly than could any other means.' Even the Dean of St. Paul's sounds a note of hope towards the end of his Romanes lecture, and in a more recent utterance (not on Progress) shows that he is not the pessimist he is sometimes called. 'It is other-worldliness alone,' he says, 'which can transform the world.'

I conclude with an illustration. In that most wonderful railway line which runs from Lake Lucerne to Göschenen and on through the St. Gotthard tunnel, there is one bit which has an especial attraction for most passengers. As the train climbs on its way to Wassen, one sees on the right the village church, high on a hill-top. Soon a tunnel is entered but, on emerging, to the surprise of the passenger, the train is now headed down the valley. Another short run and there is the darkness of a second tunnel. When once more the beauty of the surroundings can be seen, the train is again headed up the valley, with the hill church on the left and far below.

Now it seems to me that the movement of the human race is not unlike that of the Alpine train. At times we are apparently going backwards; again all is darkness, and we know not whither we are heading. But all the time there is an upward climb to more and more glorious heights.

JOHN K. ROBERTSON.

CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.[1]

READERS of Sir Joseph Pope's biography of Sir John Macdonald will be grateful to him for this companion volume of correspondence; and all students of Canadian history are his debtors for making public property so much important first hand material on Victorian Canada. It would, of course, be useless to pretend that the letters, as things in themselves, have great literary value. Real correspondence is the child of Personality by Leisure. Or, where the letter writer has been, like Gladstone, a very busy public man, the correspondence must make its appeal through the greatness of the problems discussed, and the massive culture of the mind expressing itself. Now the first prime minister of the Dominion was a busy man, trained in no great school of the humanities, and with no special inclination to spend his leisure in correspondence—'Never write a letter if you can help it,' was his advice to a friend. Moreover, the politicians among whom he worked, and many of the events which called for comment, had an interest and significance almost entirely provincial in character.

On the whole, the letters do not create *atmosphere*. Still, one gets glimpses of actual physical and social backgrounds, as when Alexander Campbell writes from Kingston in 1865: 'Dreadfully dull—more so than usual, or I am more struck with it—half a dozen people in the street, and every fellow with a look of despondency'; or, when Macdonald repels an offer of one thousand dollars for four years if only he will make the son of a certain George Stevenson registrar of Lambton county. Here and there, passing correspondents affects us with some genuine emotion. Goldwin Smith flits through the pages, proving how infallible Disraeli's personal judgements were: a social parasite, and cultivator of the eminent, and the least amiable and estimable of self-elected

[1]Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald; selections from the correspondence of Sir John Alexander Macdonald, G.C.B., first Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, made by his literary executor, Sir Joseph Pope. Oxford University Press, Toronto: 1921.

directors of Canadian opinion. Dufferin appears, with his *grand seigneur's* air, a little too splendid for the discreet glories of Rideau Hall, and rather more gushing and flattering than Macdonald's manly taste approved of. Among the Canadian figures none can compare in soundness and force to the 'old man' himself. He seems kindlier than Richard Cartwright, who here as always is too ready to sell his soul for a caustic epigram or two: and infinitely more the true leader than any of the colleagues to whom he writes. Alexander Mackenzie may have chuckled grimly to himself, when he returned a letter sent to him erroneously by Sir John. 'I duly received your letter of yesterday with enclosure. The latter turns out not to be for me. I therefore return it to you. It is doubtless from some poor man driven frantic by the "National Policy," and he goes to the proper quarter for relief.' But the fact remained that the founder of the National Policy did mean more to the man in the street than the rigid political Calvinist, because, whatever his faults, he knew and loved human nature, and he always found laughter easier than sneers.

The letters are chiefly important because they must add substantially to the outside world's belief in Macdonald as a shrewd and sane politician. No doubt his loyal biographer spares us the faults. He dwells as lightly as possible on the Pacific scandal; but I am not sure that his emphasis here is wrong. After all, every government since Macdonald's day has perpetrated jobs as bad (although perhaps less public) as Macdonald's; and the salient fact is, as George Stephen confessed, that 'John A.' made the C.P.R. possible, and that the C.P.R. helped to make the Dominion one and indivisible. 'But for you,' writes Stephen in 1884, 'the C.P.R. would undoubtedly have terminated at Port Arthur in summer, and the line for six months of the year would have been simply an extension of the American line running up from St. Paul to the international boundary line, in short not a *Canadian* Pacific Railway at all—and the destiny of Canada politically and commercially something very different to that which is now a matter of certainty.'

The correspondence contains many illustrations of Mac-

donald's solid, cautious leadership, but space forbids mention of them. One central impression cannot, however, be passed lightly over. We are all concerned to-day—now perhaps more than ever—with questions of dominion status, and Canadian nationhood. These letters make it clearer than before, not merely that Sir John Macdonald was passionately loyal to the British Union, but that he was one of the first founders of that strange combination of local independence, and vital central union which we call the British Commonwealth. Hot-headed and foolish supporters of 'John A.' have tried to picture that canny Scot as a Jingo; and jealous 'Grits' will always refuse to believe that their arch-enemy was a sound Canadian. Yet the letters prove beyond possibility of doubt that Macdonald anticipated, by half a century, those views of dominion nationhood which, to-day, find in General Smuts their chief exponent. Not even Laurier was more constantly on guard to protect Canadian rights; while, at the same time, he was trying to persuade timid British Conservatives, and unimaginative Manchester men that the British Empire was something greater than their dull minds could conceive. It was his vocation to teach Britain and Canada how perfect local independence and perfect imperial co-operation were complementary truths in the world of modern politics.

The letters abound in instances of Macdonald's sound 'Canadianism.' In 1869 he refused to send representatives to a proposed London conference—his Dominion had still to grow strong within herself. In 1870 he expressed humorous dismay over the possibility of an Imperial Commission to deal with the Red River troubles: 'To send out an overwashed Englishman, utterly ignorant of the country and full of crotchets, as all Englishmen are, would be a mistake. He would be certain to make propositions, and consent to arrangements, which Canada could not possibly accept.' He never changed from this attitude of watchfulness over Canadian rights. Even the Soudan war brought no weakness of sentimental patriotism. 'Why should we waste money and men in this wretched business?' he asked Tupper. 'England is not at war, but merely helping the Khedive to put down an insurrection, and now that Gordon is gone, the motive of aiding in

the rescue of our countrymen is gone with him. Our men and money would therefore be sacrificed to get Gladstone & Co. out of the hole they have plunged themselves into by their own imbecility.' In 1888 he reminded Tupper that Canadian boundaries must be regarded as questions proper only to Canadian statesmen; and in the same year he dismissed the idea of Imperial Federation with a decision and brevity which none of his Liberal critics could have bettered: '[Imperial Federation] is so vague a term that until some scheme is worked out for consideration, no decided opinions for or against it can be framed. . . Any arrangement which would bring together more closely the mother country and the colonies, deserves, and I have no doubt will receive, favourable consideration. I think, however, that anything like a common legislature, with powers at all similar to that of the British Parliament, is altogether impracticable.'

Yet the same man who so resolutely stood up for Canadian autonomy spoke with scorn of the provincial outlook of the British Tories,when in 1867 they failed to see the meaning of confederation. He distrusted Gladstone and his cabinet in 1870, 'who cannot, I fear, be considered as appreciating the importance of maintaining the Empire as it is, intact.' He made the finest and most generous sacrifice of that day for the sake of Imperial unity, when he persuaded the Canadian parliament to vote, on the highest grounds, for the Washington Treaty, and very directly assisted thereby in securing his own later defeat. As Sir Joseph Pope points out, the last sentences in his volume were penned in protest against a scheme of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, which would have joined the two countries on a basis of protection against Great Britain.

There have always been two groups of little Englanders and little Canadians—one of them Jingoes who could only think of a world-wide system in terms of Piccadilly Circus and the Park; the other, bitter and timid-souled radicals, who could never see—to-day less than ever—the practical efficiency, the increased political wisdom, and the genuine reinforcement to the peace of the world, which come from the unbroken union and co-operation of the free British peoples.

It was Macdonald, not Disraeli or any other, who had the first clear glimpse of that essential truth: and his greatest achievement was, not only that he persuaded Canada to regard the British union as her natural and permanent home, but that he actually forced stubborn British minds to see that local independence was the sole basis for continued imperial connexion; and that the British Empire was and must be a vast system of compromises and surrenders, each surrender, just because it meant a new gift of freedom, leaving the fabric stronger than before.

They may call Disraeli, if they will, the greatest of modern imperialists; Macdonald was something greater—the pioneer of our modern Commonwealth of free sister nations.

J. L. MORISON.

THE MAKING OF A MINISTER IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

HOW did the Principal of a College recruit men for the ministry in the year 240 A.D.? What kind of training did a student looking forward to the Christian ministry receive in the Third Century? Light is thrown upon these questions by a study of the relations between Origen and Gregory Thaumaturgus in the years 233-238 A.D. The information is given in a letter written by Origen to Gregory and in an Oration and Panegyric propounded by the Wonder-Worker upon the great Teacher.

Largely through the brilliant efforts of the catechetical school at Alexandria Theology had become a speculative and very technical science by the first half of the Third Century. This was in no small degree due to the Logos discussion. And the influence of Origen made the Logos Theology practically universal. There were different developments of Origenism, but that which was orthodox came through Gregory Thaumaturgus. No little interest, therefore, attaches to the association of these two men in the thirties of the Third Century.

These years were spent not in Alexandria where Origen had greatly distinguished himself as Principal of the Theological College, but during what was practically his exile. For Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, had in two Councils in the years 231 and 232 secured his condemnation on the charges of false doctrine, self-mutilation in a youthful compliance with a scriptural text, and the violation of Church law in the matter of his ordination. Deposed from office Origen had left Alexandria and had established a new College at Caesarea, Palestine.

Gregory had been born of noble heathen parents of moderate means in Neo-Caesarea, Pontus, about 205 A.D. At the age of fourteen years he lost his father. His mother was anxious that he should devote his attention to the study of public oratory. In later years Gregory speaks as though a Providence even then was shaping his life—"a divine conductor and true curator" or "a holy and divine angel." This

"angel," he tells us, put it into the mind of one of his Latin instructors to set him to the study of the Roman Law. It happened that just at this time Alexander Severus established at Beirut what was destined to become the most famous Law School in the whole Empire. Gregory was anxious to pursue his studies there. But called on to escort his sister to join her husband, an attorney to the Governor of Palestine, he was led, again by the good "angel," past Beirut, and so fell in with Origen recently arrived in Caesarea from Alexandria. He himself states that it was a "certain divine companion and beneficent conductor ever leading us in safety through the whole of this present life as through a long journey, that carried us past other places and Berytus in especial, which city at that time we seemed most bent on reaching, and brought us hither and settled us here, disposing and directing all things, until by any means he might bind us in a connexion with this man who was to be the author of the greater part of our blessings." And this same divine angel now gave over Gregory into the charge of Origen, satisfied that the great teacher might henceforth discharge the whole work of the care and guardianship of his life.

The Oration and Panegyric upon Origen, which is our chief source of information, was pronounced by Gregory as a Valedictory upon leaving the College at Caesarea. It possesses its full share of the defects common to such addresses. But it is, nevertheless, an important document, covering about a score of pages in a large volume of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. It gives us, incidentally, an insight into the origin of Roman Law and the beginnings of the great School of Beirut. And it sketches without any kind of reserve the life of Gregory himself. But what chiefly interests us is that course of study in the College at Caesarea.

Origen was pioneering in that early year of 233. He had had abundant experience and excellent material equipment in the older Theological College at Alexandria, and, of course, there had been students aplenty. But it was not the easiest of all tasks that he was tackling now, the getting of a new College on its feet. And I have no doubt that someone in the General Assembly of Palestine wanted to abolish the College

at Caesarea. But watch the great master as he "lands his student." Every Principal of a Western College who reads this will feel a new sense of kinship with Origen. "When we were bent on leaving him," says Gregory, "and making off for Berytus or our native country, he studied by all means to associate us closely with him, contriving all kinds of arguments, and putting every rope in motion (as the proverb goes), and bringing all his powers to bear on that object. . . .

With that intent he lauded the lovers of philosophy with large laudations and many noble utterances, declaring that those only live a life truly worthy of reasonable creatures who aim at living an upright life . . . And then he reprehended ignorance and all the ignorant . . . and there are many . . . who neither know themselves what is good and what is evil, nor care at all to learn it from others, but toil feverishly in quest of wealth, and glory, and such honours as belong to the crowd, and bodily comforts, and go distraught about things like these, as if they were the real good. And as though such prizes were worth much, yea, worth all else, they prize the things themselves, and the arts by which they can acquire them, and the different lines of life which give scope for their attainment—the military profession, to wit, and the juridical, and the study of laws . . . Nor was it only for a single day that he dealt thus with us, but for many days . . . and we were pierced by his argumentation as with an arrow. . . He asserted that there could be no genuine piety towards the Lord of all in the man who despised this gift of philosophy. . . He at last carried us fairly off somehow or other by a kind of divine power . . . and set us down without the power of movement, as it were, beside himself by his arts." It is easy to understand how the personality of the great teacher led captive so enthusiastic a soul as was Gregory. Nor was this all. Origen brought to bear upon him also the stimulus of friendship, a kind and affectionate disposition, a desire to "make us partakers in the blessings that flow from philosophy," and a love for the Holy Word. "I was persuaded to give up all those objects of pursuits which seem to us befitting, and among others even my boasted jurisprudence—yea, my very fatherland and friends. . . And in my estimation

there arose but one object dear and worth desire—to wit, philosophy, and that master of philosophy, this inspired man. 'And the soul of Jonathan was knit with David.'" So the matriculation into the College at Caesarea took place. Origen seems not to have sent the new student home to Pontus for a Presbyterial Certificate, for fear, I suppose, that the attractions of the Law School at Beirut might prove too alluring and there might be found one student less on the benches of the pioneer College. For Theological Colleges had their own anxieties even 1700 years ago.

There was laid out for Gregory a course of training which seems to have lasted five years in all—a preliminary training in Philosophy and the Sciences, such as our students receive in the University, and then a more direct course of biblical and theological instruction. Origen, says Gregory, took him in hand "as a skilled husbandman may take some field unwrought." He gave him a thorough grounding in Logic. It would have been worth while to behold this great master in the very business of teaching. One detects a kind of wincing and squirming relish as Gregory recalls the process: "He put us to the question, and made propositions to us, and listened to us in our replies. . . He set about clearing the soil, and turning it up and irrigating it, and putting all things in movement. . . And thorns and thistles and every kind of wild herb or plant in our mind he cut out and thoroughly removed by the processes of refutation and prohibition, sometimes assailing us in the genuine Socratic fashion, and again upsetting us . . . until by a kind of persuasiveness and constraint he reduced us to a state of quietude under him by his discourse, which acted like a bridle in our mouth. And that was at first an unpleasant position for us, and one not without pain . . . and yet he purged us. And when he had made us adaptable . . . he dealt liberally with us and sowed good seed in season." And so the good but painful process of discipline went on. What teacher is there, after these seventeen centuries, but does not recognize the mode and method of it? Gregory came to realize what the master was seeking, the power to form sound judgements on the part of the pupil. Origen would have no flippant versatility but a matured capa-

city to reason and to judge. "He accustomed us not to throw in our testimony at one time, and again to refuse it, just at random, and as chance impelled, but to give it only after careful examination." He taught them in that little College to "search into things within us, and to put them all individually to the test, lest any of them should give back a hollow sound, and he instructed us to make sure of these inward things first of all." Perhaps the Budget of the Church there at Caesarea gave Origen but little to spend on the College Library but he took Gregory and Athenodorus and the other students in hand himself, and he gave them something far, far better than could be found even in theological papyri—the power to think things straight.

Then came in due succession instruction in Physics, Geometry, and Astronomy. "And what need is there now to speak of the sacred mathematics, viz., geometry, so precious to all and above all controversy. . . And the one he presented lucidly as the immutable groundwork and secure foundation of all, namely geometry; and by the other, namely astronomy, he lifted us up to the things that are highest above us, while he made heaven passable to us by the help of each of these sciences, as though they were ladders reaching the skies."

The natural sciences he followed with a training in moral philosophy. But in imparting ethical science he did not aim simply at a theoretical presentation of his subject but at moral discipline as well, at "making us truly proof against grief and disquietude under the pressure of all ills, and at imparting to us a well-disciplined and steadfast and religious spirit, so that we might be in all things veritably blessed." He sought to have the heavenly virtues ripen in the soul: prudence, temperance, righteousness, fortitude. "Not in mere words only did this teacher go over the truths concerning the virtues with us; but he incited us much more to the practice of virtue, and stimulated us by the deeds he did more than by the doctrines he taught."

Origen then exhorted Gregory to add to his acquirements a knowledge of philosophy, to study the best to be found in Greek, and to "know thyself"—that first commandment of all Greek philosophy, taught centuries before by the priestess of

the shrine at Delphi. But he made this pursuit of truth serve as an approach to the upright life, and the upright life an avenue to a better knowledge of God. "By his own virtue he created in us a love at once for the beauty of righteousness . . . and for prudence . . . and for true wisdom . . . and for manliness . . . and for patience . . . and, above all, for piety, which men rightly designate when they call it the mother of the virtues. For this is the beginning and the end of all the virtues. . . And the end of all I consider to be nothing but this: By the pure mind make thyself like to God, that thou mayest draw near to Him, and abide in Him."

It was only after this long discipline in the arts and sciences that there came the training in Theology proper. Of course, the Bible itself was the great text-book. That was, in the main, the same as in our own day, but we must remember that Origen was not sure of the Apostolic origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, reckoned 2nd Peter, 2nd and 3rd John, James and Jude among the Disputed Writings, rejected from the Canon the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle to Clement and that to Barnabas, and regarded as spurious the Gospel of the Egyptians, that of Basilides the Gnostic, the Acts of John, the Acts of Andrew. The character rather than the limit of the Canon was fixed by his time. These were matters of instruction. Then, too, there were those lofty themes concerning the Logos which were to stir men's minds for many a day, and in the presentation of which Origen was *facile princeps*. What strikes one most is the broadmindedness of the teacher. He stands poles apart from Tertullian who will not permit men to think that Athens has anything to do with Jerusalem. Gregory speaks glowingly of the "judiciousness and careful preparation with which he would have us familiarized with all discourse about the Divinity, guarding sedulously against our being in any peril with respect to what is the most needful thing of all, namely, the knowledge of the Cause of all things. For he deemed it right for us to study philosophy in such wise, that we should read with utmost diligence all that has been written, both by the philosophers and by the poets of old, rejecting nothing, and repudiating nothing (for, indeed, we did not yet possess the power of critical discernment) except

only the productions of the atheists. . . He thought that we should obtain and make ourselves familiar with all other writings, neither preferring nor repudiating any one kind, whether it be philosophical discourse or not, whether Greek or foreign, but hearing what all men have to convey. And it was with great wisdom and sagacity that he acted on this principle, lest any single saying given by the one class or the other should be heard and valued above others as alone true, even though it might not be true, and lest it might thus enter our mind and deceive us." There must be neither narrowness in view nor slackness in reading. Origen introduced his pupils to all schools of philosophy, "determined that we should be ignorant of no kind of Grecian doctrine." But it was the matter of religion that most concerned him. "And this he did for us both in other branches of man's knowledge, and most especially in all that concerns piety." He counselled Gregory to think for himself, to attach himself to no human teacher, but to devote himself to God alone and to the prophets. And in scriptural exegesis Origen proved an unrivalled master. "And he himself became the interpreter of the prophets to us and explained whatsoever was dark or enigmatical in them. For there are many things of that kind in the sacred words." Origen excelled as an interpreter of the Word—a special gift to him from above, thinks Gregory. "For that Leader of all men, who inspires God's dear prophets, and suggests their prophecies and their mystic and heavenly words, has honoured this man as He would a friend, and has constituted him an expositor of these same oracles. . . He imparted to this man the gift of investigating and unfolding and explaining them. . . . These things he gives forth only and truly by participation in the Divine Spirit." There may not have been many students in those early days at Caesarea, and Origen may have pined for his larger College in Egypt, but no school can be a failure where the Valedictorian can speak with truth of its Professors in the following terms—words which might suitably be quoted at the induction of every Professor into a Canadian Theological Chair: "Now that greatest gift this man has received from God, and that noblest of all endowments he has had bestowed upon him from heaven, that he

should be an interpreter of the oracles of God to men, and that he might understand the words of God, even as if God spake them to him, and that he might recount them to men in such wise as that they may hear them with intelligence. Therefore to us there was no forbidden subject of speech; for there was no matter of knowledge hidden or inaccessible to us, but we had it in our power to learn every kind of discourse, both foreign and Greek, both spiritual and political, both divine and human; and we were permitted with all freedom to go round the whole circle of knowledge, and investigate it, and satisfy ourselves with all kinds of doctrines, and enjoy the sweets of intellect. And whether it was some ancient system of truth, or whether it was something one might otherwise name that was before us, we had in him an apparatus and a power at once admirable and full of the most beautiful views. And to speak in brief, he was truly a paradise to us, after the similitude of the paradise of God, wherein we were not set indeed to till the soil beneath us, or to make ourselves gross with bodily nurture, but only to increase the acquisitions of mind with all gladness and enjoyment—planting, so to speak, some fair growths ourselves, or having them planted in us by the Author of all things."

In concluding his Panegyric Gregory uttered a heavy lament. To leave Origen's College there at Caesarea was like Adam's departure out of Paradise, or the Prodigal's abandonment of his father's house, or the deportation of the Jews to Babylon. But he consoled himself. There still lived the Saviour of all men, whom, through the great teacher, he had learned to know far better. Then he addressed Origen: "We have also needs of truth which thou hast made us know as our possession, and all that we have received from thee—those noble deposits of instruction, with which we take our course; and though we weep, indeed, as those who go forth from home, we yet carry those seeds with us. . . But, O dear soul, arise thou and offer prayer, and now dismiss us; and as by thy holy instruction thou hast been our rescuer when we enjoyed thy fellowship, so save us still by thy prayers in our separation."

In our day students studying Theology have already dedicated their life to the Christian ministry. But Gregory seems

to have taken his whole course of training under Origen without so committing himself. Evidently Origen used the great weight of his influence more than once to bring his beloved pupil to this decision. But, as a matter of fact, it was not till Gregory had returned to his home in Pontus that Origen was successful. We have the challenging letter that he wrote. It was this letter that with other co-operating factors, a retirement to a wilderness, a consecration to a bishopric *in absentia,* and—mirabile dictu—the appearance of the Virgin Mary and the Apostle John, induced Gregory to accept clerical office.

"Greeting in God, my most excellent Sir, and venerable son Gregory, from Origen," the letter begins. Origen then dwells upon the natural qualifications that fit Gregory for the ministry: "A natural comprehension," "Your natural parts that might make of you a finished Roman lawyer or a Greek philosopher of one of the schools in high reputation." Origen entreats Gregory to devote all the strength of his nature, his eloquence, his knowledge of the Arts, Sciences, and the Scriptures to Christianity. "I wish," says the statesmanlike Origen, "I wish to ask you to extract from the philosophy of the Greeks what may serve as a course of study or a preparation for Christianity, and from geometry and astronomy what will serve to explain the sacred Scriptures, in order that all that the sons of the philosophers are wont to say about geometry and music, grammar, rhetoric, and astronomy, as fellow-helpers to philosophy, we may say about philosophy itself, in relation to Christianity." And Origen urges scriptural authority for this principle in the way that the children of Israel took vessels from the Egyptians to furnish material equipment for the service of God. The sacred Scripture is wont to represent as an evil the going down of the children of Israel into Egypt because certain people got harm from so sojourning among the Egyptians, that is, from meddling with the knowledge of this world. "I may tell you from my experience that not many take from Egypt only the useful, and go away and use it for the service of God." There are those who from their Greek studies produce heretical notions and set them up like the golden calf in Bethel. "Do thou then, my son, dili-

gently apply thyself to the reading of the sacred Scriptures. Apply thyself, I say. For we who read the things of God need much application, lest we should say or think anything too rashly about them . . . and applying thyself thus to the divine study, seek aright, and with unwavering trust in God, the meaning of the holy Scriptures, which so many have missed. Be not satisfied with knocking and seeking; for prayer is of all things indispensable to the knowledge of the things of God." Origen concludes his appeal by declaring that his fatherly love has made him bold to press his challenge that Gregory should devote his acquirements in heathen science and his Christian learning to the work of the ministry and to the elucidation of the Scriptures.

Gregory was powerfully moved by this appeal of his beloved teacher. As Jesus had done before him, he withdrew into a wilderness to think out the problem of his life's work and to settle the question which Origen's letter had raised. In the meantime Bishop Phaedimus was seeking a Bishop for Neo-Caesarea, Gregory's native town. Suspecting that he was being sought for the post, as indeed he was, Gregory remained in retirement. But Phaedimus, nothing daunted, resorted to the unheard-of procedure of declaring Gregory to be Bishop and consecrated him in his absence. This novel action Gregory took as an answer to his problem, this and a marvellous incident told by Gregory of Nyssa. While he was still meditating on the matter of his future and on the right way to worship the true God there suddenly appeared to him the Apostle John and the Virgin Mary. They had come to help him in his difficulties. At the Virgin's request the Apostle gave Gregory the instruction that gave him confidence to accept the bishopric and that enabled him to draw up his Creed, an important document still preserved, unique as compared with other confessions in that it does not employ biblical language. Gregory returned to Neo-Caesarea and was consecrated Bishop, this time with all the regular formalities.

It was Gregory's success in the episcopal office that gave him the name Thaumaturgus, or Wonder-Worker. It is not necessary to believe all the marvellous stories about him, that he could move the largest stones by a word, and heal the sick,

that he brought the demons into subjection to him, that he placed bounds to overflowing rivers and dried up mighty lakes, that he could cast his cloak over a man and thus cause his death, that he could banish demons from their temples by his simple presence, or—surely a miracle of questionable propriety—that he was able to bring back demons to their shrine by placing on their altar a piece of paper bearing the invitation, "Gregory to Satan—enter!" Whatever the value of these weighty gifts to a former age, this perverse and unpoetical and sceptical generation of ours thinks of the epithet of Wonder-Worker as fitly applied to him because of the faithful discharge of his clerical duties. At his consecration there were only seventeen Christians in all Neo-Caesarea. At his death, only seventeen Pagans. The conversion of the whole population of his native town was the real wonder-work of the Thaumaturgus. His flock were involved in the terrible sufferings of the Decian persecutions. He himself fled. The last we hear of the Wonder-Worker is that he took part in the Council of Antioch in 268. This Council it was that deposed Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, who, in seeking to combine the Logos Theology of Origen with Dynamic Monarchianism, was preparing the way for Arianism. As contrasted with Paul of Samosata and Lucian of Antioch it is Gregory Thaumaturgus that represents the orthodox development of the theology of Origen. The five years spent by master and pupil in the pioneer College of Caesarea were not in vain.

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SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE[1] AND HIS INFLUENCE ON THE HISTORY OF THE NORTH WEST.

THE first white man to reach the Pacific Ocean overland by crossing the North American continent north of the Spanish possessions was Alexander Mackenzie, a *bourgeois* or partner of the Canadian North West Company. On the face of a rock, on the shores of Bentinck Arm, at Point Menzies on the British Columbia coast, the following simple statement was inscribed:

'Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.'

If Mackenzie had accomplished nothing else than this, his niche in the Hall of Fame would have been secure. But the discovery of the overland route to the Pacific was merely the crowning achievement of a life of hardship and adventure. Four years previous, in 1789, Mackenzie had discovered the great river which now bears his name, and had traced it from its source in the Great Slave Lake, to its outlets in the Arctic Ocean. From the time of his admission to a partnership in the fur-trading firm of Gregory and Macleod in 1785, until 1794, when he finally left the North Country for good, Mackenzie travelled many thousands of miles over the canoe routes and portages between Grand Portage on Lake Superior and the Lake of the Hills, as Lake Athabasca was then termed. But Mackenzie, though a partner in the North West Company

[1]*Bibliographical note.*

The following abbreviations have been used in the preparation of this paper, which was originally delivered before the History and Social Science Section of the Washington Educational Association at Bellingham, Wash., U.S.A.

Voyages for *Mackenzie,* Sir Alexander.—Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Laurence through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in the years 1789 and 1793.—London: 1801.

Davidson for *Davidson,* Charles Gordon.—The North West Company.—Berkeley, Cal., 1918.

Masson for *Masson.*—Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest.—Quebec: 1889-90.

Bryce for *Bryce & George.*—Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson (Makers of Canada Series).—Morang, Toronto: 1911.

and later in the so-called X. Y. Company, was, in his early years, by no means satisfied to remain a mere fur-trader. He could not bring himself to settle down to the hum-drum life of a trading fort. The lure of the vast unknown was upon him, and on two occasions he set out to explore the huge hinterlands of North America. On each occasion he reached an Ocean, and opened up territory hitherto unknown.

When he undertook the first of the voyages Alexander Mackenzie was only twenty-six years of age. He reached the Pacific at the age of thirty. He left the North Country, when under thirty-two years of age, with his great discoveries made. After that time the fur-trader triumphed over the explorer, and the politician over both; for Mackenzie became the focussing point for the opposition to the firm of M'Tavish, Frobisher and Company, who were the backbone of the North West Company. He was, by this time, the greatest figure next to Simon M'Tavish, 'le Marquis', in the Canadian fur-trade, but even M'Tavish's reputation was not so well known internationally as Mackenzie's.

I.

Early Days in the Fur Trade.

It will be well here to outline very briefly the early career of Alexander Mackenzie—for he did not become Sir Alexander Mackenzie until 1802, when he was knighted on account of his great achievements. He was born in 1763 at Stornaway, in the Island of Lewis, Scotland, and seems to have received a fair education, although our knowledge of the facts of his early life is very incomplete. He came to Canada at the age of sixteen, arriving in the year 1779. He attached himself to Mr. John Gregory, a Montreal merchant, with whom he tells us he remained five years.[1]

During this period 1779-1784, the Canadian fur-trade was largely in the hands of a group of traders headed by the firms of M'Tavish and Company, Todd and McGill, and Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher. These traders, representing nine distinct interests, in 1779 formed an agreement for one year,[2]

[1] *Voyages*, p. xix
[2] Davidson, p. 9.

and in 1783-4 the North West Company was founded. This Company was 'purely a partnership with transferable shares and not a chartered company,' [3] and its stock was divided into sixteen equal shares.

It so happened that two of the possible partners in the North West Company, Peter Pond and Peter Pangman, were not satisfied with the new arrangement and began to try to make other plans. Pond was at length brought back into the North West Company's fold, but Pangman entered into successful negotiations with Alexander Mackenzie's employers, Messrs. Gregory and Macleod. A rival concern was launched, and in it, at the instance of Mr. Gregory, Alexander Mackenzie became a partner.

Mackenzie proceeded at once to Grand Portage, on Lake Superior, situated about forty miles south-west of Fort William, Ontario, in American territory. Grand Portage was then the depot of the Western Canadian fur-trade, and there Mackenzie received his first assignment for the upper country trade. He was placed in charge of the outfit for English River—as the Churchill was then termed. For the opponents of the North West Company were determined to compete with their rivals throughout the entire fur-hunting territory, even as far north as Lake Athabasca.

Thus Alexander Mackenzie set off for the Northland in 1786, accompanied by his cousin, Roderick Mackenzie, and the two cousins started at once to build up a reputation as fur-traders. Alexander Mackenzie went on further into the interior than did Roderick, but each of them was very successful. One point of interest to note is how well the Mackenzies managed to get along with their rivals of the North West Company. Unfortunately Mr. Ross, who had been placed in charge of Athabasca by Mackenzie's concern, met an untimely death, as a result of an altercation with Peter Pond, who was representing the North West Company in that region.

The result of Ross's death was the amalgamation of the two rival concerns in 1787. A new North West Company was formed, including the rival company with Alexander

[3] Davidson, p. 13.

Mackenzie as one of the new partners. Mackenzie was then sent to Athabasca, where he arrived in the autumn of 1787. Peter Pond was still nominally left in charge, but Mackenzie seems to have been the real ruler of the district.

II.

The Arctic Voyage, 1789

It was while he was in Athabasca that Mackenzie first formed his project of attempting to find his way by river to the northern ocean. It is more than probable that he expected to find the long-sought northwest passage. He certainly tells us in his *Voyages*. that 'the first voyage has settled the dubious point of a practicable North West passage; and I trust it has set that long agitated question at rest and extinguished the disputes respecting it forever.' [4] This voyage clearly showed there was no northwest passage south of 70° north latitude. Roderick Mackenzie tells us that as early as 1788 his cousin had informed him 'in confidence that he had determined on undertaking a voyage of discovery the ensuing Spring by the water communication reported to lead from Slave Lake to the Northern Ocean.' [5]

During the spring of 1789 Mackenzie was preparing for his first voyage of discovery. Accordingly he sent Roderick Mackenzie to Grand Portage in his place, and got his affairs in order for the great undertaking.

The start was finally made on the morning of June 3, 1789, from Fort Chipewyan, the new fort on Lake Athabasca, built by Roderick Mackenzie in 1788. Alexander Mackenzie's party consisted of four Canadians, one German, and two women, the wives of two of the Canadian boatmen. With them went several Indians including one known as the English chief. One of Mackenzie's most trusted henchmen, Le Roux, accompanied the party to Great Slave Lake, and was commissioned to build a fort on the northern shore of that lake.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to follow in detail the 'dash for the Arctic Sea.' The curious may find it given in full in Mackenzie's *Voyages*; and they will be found fasci-

[4]Preface, p. v.
[5]Masson, *Bourgeois,* vol. I, p. 27.

nating reading. Mackenzie was as successful as an author as he was as an explorer, and his narrative is wonderfully interesting. It begins simply thus:

'June 1789, Wednesday 3.

'We embarked at nine in the morning, at Fort Chipewyan, on the South side of the Lake of the Hills, in latitude 58.40 North and longitude 110.30 West from Greenwich, and compass has sixteen degrees variation East, in a canoe made of birch bark.'[6]

The course of the explorers was across Lake Athabasca, down Slave River to Great Slave Lake, which was reached on June 9.[7] This lake was found to be still full of ice and the mosquitoes were bad. After several days' delay Mackenzie crossed the Lake and on June 25th parted with M. Le Roux who remained behind to trade with the Indians. Four days were spent in trying to find the outlet to Great Slave Lake, and finally, on Monday, June 29th, the party entered the great river which now bears Mackenzie's name. From then on Mackenzie's course was along the river to the Arctic Sea, which was reached on July 12th, 1789.

During the voyage to the sea Mackenzie was continually on the lookout for mountain ranges, and rivers flowing from the West. Although in the *Voyages* he does not tell us definitely, it may be inferred that he was looking for a river which would take him to the Pacific, in case the newly found great river did not do so.[8] Thus he chronicles the discovery of the mouth of Liard River, which he calls the River of the Mountain, on July 1st. The next morning the Rocky Mountains were sighted. These mountains 'appeared to be sprinkled with white stones, which glistened in the sun, and were called by the Indians *manetoe aseniah,* or spirit stones.'[9] Mackenzie suspected that the white patches were talc, but as they had disappeared by the return journey he concluded that they were only snow fields which had melted as the season advanced. The mouth of the Great Bear Lake River, flowing in from the east, was passed on

[6]Mackenzie, *Voyages,* vol.I, p. 2.
[7]Mackenzie, *Voyages,* p. 7.
[8]Dr. G. C. Davidson's discovery of a new map by Mackenzie in the Colonial Office proves this. See infra.
[9]*Voyages,* p. 29.

July 5,[10] and the rapids of the Mackenzie were encountered on July 6 and 7, but proved to be of little difficulty. Three days later the party arrived at the head of the delta at the mouth of the river.

There is little evidence to show that Mackenzie realized that he had now almost arrived at the Arctic Ocean. An observation taken on July 10 showed the latitude of 67° 47′ which, as Mackenzie naïvely remarks, 'was farther North than I expected,' but he puts the blame on the variation of the compass. Although his provisions were running short, Mackenzie determined to follow the further course of the waters which he believed 'emptied themselves into the Hyperborean Sea.' He encountered difficulties with the Indians at this point, the guide appearing most unwilling to proceed further. However, Mackenzie determined to keep on, and, on July 12, reached the mouth of the middle branch of the Mackenzie River. An observation gave 69° 1′ North latitude, and it was noticed that the 'lake was quite open to the Westward,' but very shallow, so shallow that it was impossible to proceed. Apparently without knowing it, Mackenzie had arrived at the Arctic Ocean.

The party remained from July 12 to July 16 exploring the islands, including Whale Island, in the vicinity, and the appearance of the tide was noted on July 15, when it was observed that the 'water had flowed' under the baggage.[11] The next day, apparently owing to lack of provisions, Mackenzie turned back. He gives no reasons in his journal for so doing, but merely states: 'We accordingly made for the river and stemmed the current.'

The return to Fort Chipewyan was comparatively uneventful. The outstanding bit of information was obtained on July 26th from a Dog-rib Indian, who told Mackenzie that 'the Hare Indians had informed him that there was a river on the other side of the mountains to the southwest. This river was larger than the Mackenzie, and emptied into the Belhoullay Toe,[12] or White Man's Lake. The next day Mackenzie got further information about the mysterious river

[10]*Voyages*, p. 39.
[11]p. 65. [12]Davidson, p. 56.

of the West. He met more Indians, one of whom drew him a map on the sand. Mackenzie thus describes the map:

'This singular map he immediately undertook to delineate, and accordingly traced out a very long point of land between the rivers, though without paying the least attention to their courses, which he represented as running into the great lake at the extremity of which, as he had been told by Indians of other nations, there was a *Belhoullay Couin,* or White Man's Fort. This I took to be Unalascha Fort, and consequently the river to the west to be Cook's River; and that the body of water or sea into which this river discharges itself at Whale Island, communicates with Norton Sound.' [13]

Mackenzie was unable to get this Indian, or any other, to accompany him across the mountains to the other river, which seems to have been, without doubt, either the Yukon or one of its tributaries, possibly the Porcupine. So the leader had to abandon his project and resume his journey up the Mackenzie River.

At length, on September 12th, Fort Chipewyan was again reached, after a voyage of discovery lasting one hundred and two days. Mackenzie had not reached the Pacific, but he had discovered a mighty river, and arrived at the Northern Ocean.

One of the latest writers on Mackenzie's voyages, Dr. G. C. Davidson, maintains that it is 'an interesting question whether Mackenzie realized that he had actually reached this Northern Ocean.' [14] In fact, Mackenzie calls the body of water he found there a 'lake,' and seems to suggest that it empties into the Hyperborean Sea. To be sure, he mentions the tide, but tides are indicative of inlets and arms of the ocean, as well as the ocean itself. Dr. Davidson has discovered a map in the Colonial Office on which there appears this inscription on the west side of the river: 'By the Indian Account the Sea is but a short way to the Westward.[15] Among the notes 'pinned to the map' is the following:

'Athabasca is 2750 miles to the North and West of Montreal, the distance from this to the North Sea in Latitude 69¼° North, and Longitude about 135° West from Greenwich by the Slave Lake and Mackenzie's River is 1540 miles. It

[13] *Voyages*, p. 85.
[14] Davidson, p. 59.
[15] Davidson, p. 60.

was in the summer of 1789 that I went this Expedition, in the hopes of getting into Cook's River. Though I was disappointed in this it proved without doubt that there is not a north-west passage below this latitude, and I believe it will generally be allowed that no passage is practicable in a higher Latitude, being eternally covered with ice.' [16]

'This statement', Dr. Davidson concludes, 'indicates that Mackenzie supposed that the river which drains Great Slave Lake emptied into the Pacific Ocean.'

This certainly seems a reasonable explanation.

III.

To the Pacific by Land, 1792-3.

Three years after the first voyage Alexander Mackenzie undertook his second attempt to reach the Pacific. These intervening years had been spent for the most part in preparation for the new attempt, although Mackenzie had not been unmindful of his duties and interest as a fur-trader. In the spring of 1790 he had left Fort Chipewyan and proceeded to Grand Portage. There he was rather chagrined to find that his voyage had excited but little interest. In July of that year he wrote to Roderick Mackenzie:

'My expedition was hardly spoken of, but that is what I expected.' [17] What the *bourgeois* of the North West Company were chiefly interested in was the reorganization of the Company. In the reorganized company of twenty shares, Alexander Mackenzie held two shares, one of which he bought from MacBeath for three hundred and fifty pounds, Halifax currency, 'over and above the stock on hand.' [18]

The winter of 1791-2 was spent by Mackenzie in England, gaining the mathematical knowledge and purchasing technical equipment necessary for the new venture. During his absence the astronomer, Turner, sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company at the request of the Colonial Office, had wintered at Fort Chipewyan, and found by accurate observation the distance of Lake Athabasca from the Pacific to be not fifty leagues as

[16]Davidson, p. 61.
[17]Masson, *Bourgeois*, vol. I, p. 35.
[18]Masson, *Bourgeois*, vol. I, p. 39.

Pond had supposed, but rather over three hundred leagues. So when Alexander Mackenzie returned to Fort Chipewyan in 1792, probably the late summer or early autumn, though the exact date is not recorded, he was well equipped for his new undertaking, and he possessed a better idea of the amount of territory to be covered.

Accordingly, on October 10, 1792, leaving Roderick Mackenzie in charge of Fort Chipewyan, Alexander Mackenzie started out for his winter quarters on the Peace River. On November 1st, 1792, he reached the wintering place six miles above the mouth of the Smoky River.[19] There the explorer and his party remained until spring, Mackenzie filling in time, observing the habits and customs of the Indians, attempting to get information from them concerning the land beyond the mountains, and noting all occurrences of importance in his journal.

At length, on May 8th, 1793, Mackenzie despatched six canoes laden with provisions, letters, and furs, to Fort Chipewyan. The next day he and his party embarked in a single canoe for the new adventure. Mackenzie's companions on this occasion were as follows: one Scotchman, Alexander Mackay, Mackenzie's trusted lieutenant; six French Canadians, two of whom, Joseph Landry and Charles Ducette, had accompanied the chief on his previous voyage, and two Indians as hunters and interpreters. There was no guide. Apparently there was no Indian available who was acquainted with the country beyond the mountains.

Mackenzie's path to the Pacific lay along the Peace River. It was a toilsome journey, but steady progress was made. On May 12th some Indians told Mackenzie that he should reach the Rocky Mountains in ten days' time.[20] He notices in his journal for that day that the land on both sides of the river was 'very much elevated' and 'on the western side' it presented 'white, steep, and lofty cliffs.' [21] The same day an old Indian told Mackenzie of 'another large river beyond the Rocky Mountains,' and described to him 'a fork of it between the mountains.' He directed Mackenzie to take the southern

[19]Davidson, p. 63.
[20]*Voyages*, p. 157. [21]p. 158.

branch; 'from thence,' he said, 'there was a carrying place of about a day's march for a young man to get to the other river.'

By Sunday, May 19th, 1793, formidable rapids were encountered, and the party met with some danger. The canoe was injured, and had to be repaired. It looked for a while as if the rapids were insurmountable, but in the end British pluck triumphed, and the party kept on going up stream in face of obstacles which would have daunted less determined men.

At length the mountains were crossed, and on May 31st Mackenzie and his fellow-travellers arrived at the forks of the Peace River, where the Finlay from the N.N.W. and the Parsnip from the E.S.E. meet to form the main stream.[22] Mindful of the old Indian's advice, Mackenzie, much against his will, followed the southern branch. It was well he did so, for the Finlay would only have taken him to the Pacific by a much longer route and a portage to the Skeena River, which would easily have been missed. By this time the party was exhausted and disheartened, and it needed all Mackenzie's and Mackay's persistence and firmness to keep the voyageurs and Indians to their task. The crew were for following the Finlay branch, partly, apparently, because Mackenzie had determined to follow the other, but they were overruled, and the canoe proceeded up the Parsnip branch.

In face of great difficulties the explorers went on toiling up the river. It was desperate work, and we read on June 2nd that 'the men were so oppressed with fatigue, that it was necessary that they should encamp at six in the afternoon.' [23] The usual day began with sunrise (or even before) and ended with sunset. For some reason Mackenzie missed the mouth of the Pack River, which would have taken him to McLeod's Lake and finally, by Summit Lake, to Giscome Portage, the natural trail across the height of land which separates the headwaters of the Peace River from the main stream of the Fraser. [24]

On June 9th, some Indians appeared, who possessed iron utensils which they had, apparently, procured by intertribal

[22] *Voyages*, p. 185.
[23] *Voyages*, p. 188.
[24] See Davidson, p. 64.

trade from the Coast Indians.[25] These Indians told Mackenzie that 'he could proceed by a series of portages from the head of the Parsnip River to a small river emptying into a large one flowing towards the mid-day sun.' [26] This latter river, the Indian stated, 'did not empty itself into the sea.' [27] The river was, of course, the Fraser.

Thus encouraged, Mackenzie's party proceeded, and on June 12, 1793, reached a small lake which the explorer took to be to be the 'highest and Southermost source of the Unijah or Peace River, latitude 54° 24′ North, longitude 121° west of Greenwich.' [28]

After a short portage another river, which Simon Fraser later named the Bad River, was reached, and on June 17, after many adventures the explorers launched their canoe in the main stream of that great river, the Fraser.[29] Two days later, on June 19, the mouth of the Nechako River was passed, apparently unnoticed. As the weather was foggy, Mackenzie can probably be excused for his failure to discover the most obvious route to the Pacific via the Nechako River, Fraser Lake and Burns Lake to the Bulkeley and Skeena Rivers (i.e., following the line of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway from Fort George to the mouth of the Skeena).

On June 21, some new information was obtained from a band of Carrier Indians who, at first, seemed extremely hostile, but were soon pacified by the present of some beads, looking glasses, 'and other alluring trinkets.' [30] The Indians' account of the Fraser was sufficiently terrible to cause even Mackenzie some alarm.

'According to their account,' he states, [31] 'this river, whose course is very extensive, runs towards the mid-day sun; and that at its mouth, as they had been informed, white men were building houses. They represented its current to be uniformly strong, and that in three places it was altogether impassable from the falls and rapids, which poured along between perpendicular rocks that were much higher, and more rugged,

[25] *Voyages*, pp. 198-201.
[26] Davidson, p. 65, based on *Voyages*, pp. 203-4.
[27] *Voyages*, p. 204. [28] *Voyages*, p. 216.
[29] *Voyages*, p. 228. [30] *Voyages*, p. 244. [31] *Voyages*, p. 245.

than any we had yet seen, and would not admit of any passage over them.'

Fortunately for Mackenzie the Indians were able to inform him that there was another route to the sea, much more direct and less difficult. Mackenzie was naturally very loath to abandon his progress down the great river, which he later, on August 16 on his return, named the Tacoutche Tesse and falsely identified with the Columbia River. But the season was advancing, and supplies were short.[32] Above all Mackenzie knew that he had to recross the mountains and brave once more the known dangers of the Peace River before the fall of winter. It was a long way back to Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca.

Accordingly, on June 23, the bow of the much-battered canoe was turned up-stream, and on July 3 the party arrived at the mouth of a river running in from the west. This river, now known as the Blackwater, was termed by Mackenzie the West Road River. Along it the canoe made its way for a short distance, when it was decided to abandon the water route and proceed by foot overland.[33] This was accordingly done, and a long march began which ended on July 17, when the upper waters of the Bella Coola River were reached. The next day, July 18, two canoes were obtained from the Indians, and the party began the last lap of the long journey to the Pacific.

On the 19th Mackenzie visited the great chief of the Bella Coola region, further progress having for the moment been stopped by the curiosity of the natives. The chief was laid up with a pain in his chest, which Mackenzie promptly relieved by giving him a few drops of Turlington's Balsam on a piece of sugar. The chief was much gratified and later presented Mackenzie with a roasted salmon. He showed the explorer his treasures, 'a garment of blue cloth, decorated with brass buttons, and another of a flowered cotton,' [34] which Mackenzie took to be Spanish. There was also any amount of copper and brass and iron in the possession of the chief and his warriors. Mackenzie thus describes their treasures: [35]

[32]He had no more than 30 days' provisions remaining, and only 150 rounds of ball ammunition and 30 pounds of powder; *ibid.*, pp. 255-6.
[33]*ibid.*, p. 284, July 4.
[34]p. 333. [35]pp. 333-4.

'Copper and brass are in great estimation among them, and of the former they have great plenty; they point their arrows and spears with it, and work it up into personal ornaments, such as collars, ear-rings, and bracelets, which they wear on their wrists, arms and legs. I presume that they find it the most advantageous article to trade with the more inland tribes. They also abound in iron. I saw some of their twisted collars of that metal which weighed upwards of twelve pounds. It is generally beat in bars of fourteen inches in length, and one inch three quarters wide. The brass is in thin squares. Their copper is in larger pieces and some of it appeared to be old stills cut up. They have various trinkets, but their iron is manufactured only into poniards and daggers. Some of the former have very neat handles, with a silver coin of a quarter or eighth of a dollar fixed on the end of them. The blades of the latter are from ten to twelve inches in length, and about four inches broad at the top, from which they gradually lessen into a point.'

After this visit to the chief Mackenzie and his party resumed their voyage, and finally, on July 21, they reached Bentinck Arm and Point Menzies, and there, on July 22, Mackenzie recorded on the South East face of the rock on which the party had slept the night,[36] surrounded by none too friendly Indians, the brief inscription already quoted.[37] The long journey was over. The Pacific had been reached overland from Canada.

The return journey began at once on July 23, and on August 4 the Fraser River was again reached. Thirteen days later, August 17, the party was again on the waters of the Parsnip, and on the main stream of the Peace by August 19. Finally, on August 24, Mackenzie and his fellow-voyagers were back at the Fort where they had spent the winter, and from which they had started the 9th of May.

Mackenzie concludes the narrative of his *Voyages* thus simply:[38]

'As I have now resumed the character of a trader, I shall not trouble my readers with any subsequent concern, but

[36]This encampment Mackenzie named 'Porcupine Cove.'
[37]*Supra*, p. 411. [38]p. 397.

'. . . Here my voyages of discovery terminate. Their toils and their dangers, their solicitudes and sufferings, have not been exaggerated in my description. On the contrary, in many instances, language has failed me in the attempt to describe them. I received, however, the reward of my labours, for they were crowned with success.
content myself with the closing information that, after an absence of eleven months, I arrived at Fort Chipewyan, where I remained for the purposes of trade, during the succeeding winter.'

Thus simply ends the account of one of the greatest voyages of discovery ever made.

IV.

Later Days and Death.

Mackenzie, the fur-trader, now again takes the place of Mackenzie, the explorer, and little remains to be told. In the spring of 1794, Mackenzie left Fort Chipewyan for Grand Portage, and never again returned to the North Country.

At Grand Portage Mackenzie found that the affairs of the North West Company were very unsettled. Some of the Montreal traders headed by Forsyth, Richardson and Company, were ready to break away from the parent company and to form a new North West Company. This was done in 1795-6, and the so-called X. Y. Company was established. Alexander Mackenzie, although on bad terms with Simon M'Tavish of M'Tavish, Frobisher and Company, remained with the old Company until 1799, when the engagement between Mackenzie and the Company expired and was not renewed.[39]

In that year Mackenzie retired to England, where his *Voyages* appeared in 1801. He was knighted in 1802, and in the same year he brought forward a scheme for forming civil and military establishments at Nootka, also on the Columbia River and at Sea Otter Harbour, in 55° North latitude. These schemes came to nought, and Mackenzie returned to Canada in 1802 to place himself at the head of the opposition to the

[39]Masson, *Bourgeois*, vol. I, p. 48.

North West Company. The new North West Company, known as 'Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Company' or the 'X. Y. Company', was fighting for life against M'Tavish's old North West Company. Bitter rivalry between the two companies continued until M'Tavish's death in 1804, when a reunion took place. Of the one hundred shares in the reunited company, twenty-five, or one-quarter, were assigned to the X. Y. Company.

In 1808 Sir Alexander Mackenzie left Canada for good, and returned to Scotland. Four or five years later [40] he married a namesake of his, Miss Geddes Mackenzie. Lady Mackenzie was the owner, in her own right, of the property of Avoch and this property she made over to her husband.

Mackenzie's death occurred very suddenly in 1820, at the early age of fifty-seven. He was taken ill when travelling from London to Perthshire, and died at Mulnair in that county on March 12, 1820.

V.

General Estimate of Mackenzie. His influence on North West History.

Mackenzie had done great things for North West America. His journeys had led him to two oceans, and he had demonstrated beyond all shadow of doubt, that there was no North West Passage south of 70° North Latitude. He had proved that the mythical Strait of Anian, which was supposed to connect the Pacific Ocean and Hudson's Bay, had no possible existence. He had opened up Territories hitherto unknown, and had discovered two mighty rivers—the Mackenzie and the Fraser, and had traced the former to its outlet in the Frozen Ocean.

But all this he did as a fur trader, and not as an official of the British Crown. It is noteworthy that he never took possession of the Territories he discovered in the name of His Majesty, King George III. He possessed no Royal Warrant for that purpose, although his unsuccessful attempt in 1802 to interest the British people in his scheme for forming civil

[40] 1813; so Masson; 1812 according to Bryce, p. 101.

and military establishments on the Columbia River at Nootka, seems to show that he was alive to the necessity of establishing British rights of sovereignty on the North West Coast.

Mackenzie's exploration, and the publication of the *Voyages* in 1801, aroused much interest concerning North West America. We are told by Bryce[41] that Napoleon had a copy of the *Voyages* smuggled into France, and translated for the perusal of Marshal Bernadotte. The Corsican was at this time dreaming of a great American Empire, and he was planning to entrust to Bernadotte the task of establishing the Tricolour in North West America and of attacking Canada from the rear. Fortunately for North America these schemes came to nought, but Bernadotte years after confessed that he could, for a time, almost fancy himself 'Taking your Canada *en revers* from the upper waters.'[42] Nor was Bernadotte alone influenced by the narrative. Lord Selkirk also has left on record his debt to Mackenzie's *Voyages*. It was from this book that the founder of the Red River Settlement admitted that he first obtained information concerning Rupert's Land.

But above all, the exploration of Sir Alexander Mackenzie prepared the way for the journeys of Simon Fraser and David Thompson, both employees of the North West Company.

Fraser in 1805 founded the first fort west of the Rocky Mountains, and in 1806 explored the headwaters of the Parsnip River, crossed the height of land to the Bad River, and reached the North Fork of the Great River which he, like Mackenzie, took to be the Columbia, but really is the Fraser. This he followed to the junction of the Nechako River, where one year later he founded Fort George. Thence he proceeded up the Nechako or Stuart River and Stuart Lake. As far as the junction of the Nechako and the Fraser Rivers, Simon Fraser was following Mackenzie's course and he took almost malicious pleasure in pointing out errors in Sir Alexander's narrative. Fraser discovered the South Fork of the Fraser River on their journey, and prided himself not a little that Mackenzie had missed it. In his journal he recorded his feelings as follows: 'This river is not mentioned by Sir A. M. K. which surprises me not a little, it being full

[41]Bryce, pp. 94-7. [42]*ibid.*, p. 97.

in sight and a fine large river, and in the state we saw it, equal in size to that of the Athabasca River, and forms what Mr. McDougall in his journal of last Spring calls the Great Fork. It flows in from the right, and as far as I can judge, about 10 or 12 miles above the first Portage. Sir A. M. K. appears to have been very inaccurate in the courses, or there must have been a vast difference in the compass he made use of, and the one we had, which is old and perhaps not very good.' [43]

Two years later in 1808 Fraser made his celebrated descent of the Great River and ascertained that it was not the Columbia. How he managed to brave the dangers of the cañons of the Fraser will always remain a source of wonder to subsequent generations. In his journal he describes how he and his party took their lives in their hands and shot the Great Cañon in their canoes. At length the calmer waters of the lower Fraser were reached, and on July 2, 1808, the party reached the site of the present city of New Westminster. A few hours later Simon Fraser came in sight of a gulf or bay of the sea which the Indians called Pas-hil-roe, and which has been identified as the Gulf of Georgia. At that point hostile Indians were encountered and the exploring party turned back. Fraser was deeply disappointed that he did not see the Main Ocean, but he had explored a mighty river and traced its course to its mouth.

David Thompson, a fellow-employee of the North West Company, was at this time tracing the course of the Columbia River and its Tributaries. In 1807, the year before Fraser's descent of the Great River, Thompson had built Kootenai House on the upper waters of the Columbia. During the next two years he explored the Kootenay River and established posts on the Flathead and Pend d' Oreille Lakes. In 1811 he endeavoured to forestall the Astorians in their attempt to found a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River, but failed. He arrived at Astoria on July 15, 1811, only to find the Pacific Company in possession.

But in the meantime the North West Company had not been idle in the territories through which Sir Alexander Mackenzie had blazed the way in 1793. Forts had been

[43]Quoted by Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, vol. I, pp. 247-8.

founded at McLeod Lake in 1805, Fort St. James on Stuart Lake in 1806, Fort Fraser, 1806, and Fort George, 1807. Mackenzie's Company was well established in this Northern region to which the name of New Caledonia was soon given. These forts formed the bases of a profitable trade with the Indians, and showed that the explorations of Sir Alexander Mackenzie had opened up a new world beyond the Rockies to Canadian fur-traders.

WALTER N. SAGE.

THE RETURN TO TRADITIONALISM.

AFTER having chosen this title and anticipated the comment, "There is no such thing," I met in a new book, *Bible and Spade,* by Dr. J. P. Peters, the heading, "Present reaction towards traditional views," but any rigid traditionalist reading this would certainly be disappointed with the book as a whole. All that is meant is that former critical opinions as to the dates of certain documents have been revised and that results of archaeological research have not only illustrated the life revealed in the Bible but have also shown that in "the folklore" there are reliable historical and ethnological traditions. His lecture on the early stories of Genesis is entitled 'Cosmogony and Folk Lore'; the author appears to accept substantially the analysis of "Isaiah" and the following paragraph shows his view of the Book of Daniel. "This is the method of folk history. I found a most interesting exhibition of this in exploring a good many years ago the folk-lore of the Wends, a little enclave of Slavonic peoples on the borders of Prussia and Saxony, retaining in the midst of their German surroundings a part at least of their Slavonic identity, both in language and in customs. They had a number of stories which we know as Grimm's fairy-tales, but which appeared among them in a peculiar form. Mixed up with the old bogies and mythical legendary figures of the fairy-stories, as we know them, are Frederick the Great of Prussia and his general, Ziethen. Folk-lore knows no time. All ages are apt to be confused in it. It figures the great episodes. Those things which made a deep impression are held on to and passed down as part of the folk tradition, mixed in with the old, old stories which we call fairy tales. The great man whom that part of the country knew, whom it felt and experienced, was Frederick the Great, and next to him his Hussar general, Ziethen. Here we have in the book of Daniel the same sort of thing." "You must broaden your conception of history, as I tried to show in dealing with the early stories of Genesis." The traditionalist who appeals to archaelogy cannot gain much comfort from this version of "Bible and Spade."

Yet there is a feeling abroad that the supposed results of science and criticism have been largely discredited. Listening to Professor Bateson on "The Evolutionary Faith and Modern Doubt," one felt that, although he reaffirmed the faith, warned off the "obscurantist" and suggested that the unsolved problems were in a sense "a domestic affair," the effect in certain quarters would be not admiration for the candour and caution of the scientific investigator but a shout of triumph at the defeat of Darwinism and the failure of the evolutionary idea. The great majority of those who are real students of nature and history work under the influence of this idea and do not concern themselves with popular misconceptions. Mr. W. J. Bryan, being free in the meantime from political duties, can write a tract on *The Menace of Darwinism*.. Another popular title is *Darwinism on its Death Bed.* The fact is that while every theory advanced by men of science should receive severe examination by competent critics, the unfortunate thing is that those who attack science in the name of religion and in this spirit assume that the value of the Bible and the reality of religion are involved in such discussions. Professor J. A. Thomson, the author of *The Bible of Nature*, a man in whom devotion to exact science has not destroyed the poetic spirit and artistic feeling, is editing a comprehensive review, in four volumes, *The Outline of Science*, where, as we are told, "the man in the street," if he is so minded, can learn how Darwinism stands to-day.

Then Mr. H. G. Wells has undertaken to write the story of the world and humanity from the beginning. "And the beginning for him is the time of the fire mist, ten or a hundred million years ago, when the earth first began to assume shape." One has one's opinion about Wells's history but that cannot be expressed in few words, so let us simply note how the doctors differ. Dr. S. A. Steel says: "There is no more pathetic character in the world to-day than H. G. Wells. His books are read by millions. He is evidently in desperate earnest to find the truth. He catches bright glimpses of it now and then, as when he says that Christianity is the only hope of the race; but his mind is unbalanced, lacks logical training, has more sail of fancy than ballast of reason. He is

like a mariner at sea without chart or compass, anxious to steer the ship to the harbour, but all his bearings unknown and drifting with the wind and tide! He reminds one of Laocoon struggling with the serpents on the sea shore. He is a fair sample of the intellectual output of the higher criticism," etc. Dr. Frank Crane out of sixty new books has found three "that were worth almost drowning for. And one of the three was the thin luridly bound parts, recently sent over from England. Of what is going to be *the smashing literary event of the year.*

"Wells to my mind is *king of modern writers.* He is not a Smart Alec like G. B. Shaw, a sleight-of-hand performer like Chesterton, a wonderful story-teller lost on The Road to Endor like Conan Doyle, an amazing phrase-maker like Kipling. He differs from all these in that he has something to say, something of importance that the world ought to hear. He has a message. He is a preacher. As Dante and Victor Hugo were preachers, and R. L. Stevenson." Out of all this we can only hope that there will be a quickening of intellectual interest and that men of our time will not be completely absorbed in business and politics.

One can understand the concern that many people feel not about mere "orthodoxy," but for the central vital truths of Christianity. There is always anxiety in times of great change when the world is both restless and weary. The peculiar feature of the present clamour against "modernism" and the scientific teaching in universities is that there has gone along with it, to such a large extent an aggressive proclamation of premillenarian doctrine. In Canada this is largely reinforced by influences from the United States. Here is a deliberate statement by Dr. Shailer Mathews of Chicago University: "The Protestant churches of the United States are facing a crisis in religion. On the one side is the continuation of the historical development of our faith, as organized by the centuries of Christian thought and experience. On the other side is the reappearance, with the aid of a heavily financed propaganda, of doctrines that are neither true to the facts of human life, to the great confessions of the churches, nor to the spirit of revelation. We do not question the sincerity or

moral earnestness of those who favour this revival of chiliaism. Many of its advocates are successful evangelists possessed of real piety. This, however, is not a matter of merely theological difference between the so-called orthodox and liberal. It is radical distinction between two conceptions of the nature and central beliefs of the Christian religion. The one view of Christianity extends the principles of our religion into the great processes of human thought and social transformation. The other would make, to quote one of its formulas, 'all human schemes of reconstruction . . . subsidiary to the second coming of our Lord, because all nations will then be subject to his rule.' " This is no new thing, we have come into contact with believers and defenders of this doctrine many times during a long career. The new thing is that there is in many places an epidemic of this disease, and the assertion by responsible men that the spreading of the germs is "a heavily financed" movement. The Methodist Church in Canada has had the courage to make a clear pronouncement on this question and to call its people to study the history of our religion, so as to distinguish and appreciate the varied forms in which the divine messages have come to men.

The central point of this whole controversy turns upon the method and spirit by which the Scriptures are studied and interpreted. The Toronto *Globe*, so far as represented by unsigned articles and reviews, appears to represent the traditional view with the suggestion that modern scholarship is steeped in scepticism. Dr. Steel's book, *The Modern Theory of the Bible,* is recommended by this reviewer and the following passage quoted with approval: "The tap-root of the modern theory of the Bible is Rationalism, or the principle that everything is to be understood in the light of human reason. This gave rise to the evolutionary conception of history which excludes the idea of Providence." It would require a philosophical essay to discuss at any length the nature of "rationalism." But this is an interesting book written by a man well advanced in life, who years ago accepted the Darwinian theory provisionally and held himself ready to sacrifice everything for the truth; fortunately all that he has been called upon to sacrifice is the baseless Darwinian theory. Being a wise man

he got off the sinking ship in good time. "So I was not in the leaky vessel and did not have to swim ashore when it went down, or send out an S. O. S. for emergency rescue from the waves of scientific unbelief."

This kind of thing forcibly delivered to an audience who possessed no real knowledge of the subject would no doubt create a powerful impression. "According to that theory, the book of Genesis is a compilation of mythological tales, like the legends and fables of the prehistoric ages of Greece and Rome. They have no historical value or theological meaning. They are folk-lore, the 'Br'er Rabbit' tales told around the campfires of the cave men, venerable apes, still rubbing the stumps of their caudal appendages against the stones. They told tales with naïve simplicity to satisfy the curiosity of the little intellectual and developing monkeys around them. At some late period subsequent to the return of the Jews from the captivity in Babylon, these tales were collected and promulgated under the fictitious authority of a mythical hero named Moses." This is a caricature with very little that is rational in it. When, however, this writer comes to discuss the relation of Genesis I. to science he displays a scholastic rationalism of his own. God might have made the world in an instant, but "His power is never exerted irrationally, and to create such a world as this in an instant of time would be an irrational act. God is not a magician but Infinite Reason." "Possibly Moses was thinking of six literal days; but if he was the Holy Spirit guided him in writing to use a word that not only means a literal period of twenty-four hours but also indefinite time." If Moses meant literal days, he must of course use the word "day," and no one denies that "day" can be used of an indefinite period, but it seems that in this interpretation the word "day" can have both meanings at the same time.

Why did not the *Globe* reviewer remind Dr. Steel of his danger as revealed in the following passages (pp. 22, 23)? (1) "This does not mean that the sacred writers were automatons through whom, as through a machine like a victrola, God spoke to man. Nor does it mean that the *ipsissima verba*, the very words themselves, were dictated." From the high standard of the really orthodox that is "a low view." In a highly rhe-

torical statement by a Toronto clergyman and commended by The Globe we find the phrase "divine authorship; human penmanship." (2) Changes and interpolations in the text have taken place in the course of the centuries. "No sensible person supposes that Moses wrote the account of his own death." Carlstadt, about four centuries ago, made the same statement, but added *as other parts of the book are written in the same style it is possible to maintain that Moses did not write them.* That was a seed that has borne rich fruit. (3) Speaking of his own view Dr. Steel says: "Nor is it inconsistent with this view of the Bible to believe that the twenty-seven chapters that form the latter part of the Prophecy of Isaiah, were not spoken by Isaiah, but by some unknown prophet of the captivity, and were attached to the real Isaiah because they are the logical fulfilment of his messages, and have such close affinity with his thought." He recognizes that criticism so far is legitimate, but claims the right to say at what point it becomes "Destructive criticism." The results worked out by scholars, and which he rejects as sceptical, have been gained by the principle that he applies to Isaiah xl ff.

Passing to *The Problem of the Pentateuch,* by Melvin Grove Kyle, D.D., LL.D., Archaeological Editor of the Sunday School Times, we miss the living interest of Dr. Steel's volume and find dull solemn pretentiousness. This gentleman puts the clock back about four centuries by his legal skill and what he calls "archaeological methods." He has by these methods a perfectly simple and natural solution so that we can now dispense with the Documentary Theory. This Theory represents the work of generations of scholars but Dr. Kyle has produced a solution all out of his own head with some assistance from a "distinguished member of the Philadelphia bar." "These varied investigations and the striking comparison with the Documentary Theory which they provide tend to establish the trustworthiness of the Pentateuch records at their *face value.*" We use italics to call attention to the frequent repetition of this crude phrase. "Thus the history of Israel presented to us in the Pentateuch, as we now have it in the Bible, is restored to the place of trustworthiness; the narrative is to be received at its *face value.*" "It cannot escape notice that

throughout the discussion of this book, and most markedly in the early investigations which develop the fundamental materials upon which all the discussions rest, there is the most absolute and unquestioning acceptance of the statements of the book at their *face value.* This will doubtless be attributed by many to the 'prejudices of a traditionalist' arising out of a presupposition of the truthfulness of the statements of Scripture at their *face value.* It is because that is a logical necessity so to do," etc.

This author evidently thinks that there is a special "archaeological method." "An archaeological investigation is essentially an investigation of materials; until such investigation is made the archaeologist has nothing to investigate." That is surely a wonderful discovery! Taking things at their face value it appears that "to this day" (Deut. 32: 6) may be the work of a copyist that crept into the text, but: "Altogether it is not impossible, nor altogether unlikely, that this account of the death and burial was written by Moses himself?" The Documentary Theory, according to this archaeological investigation, has been invented to solve difficulties that do not exist. By considering the KINDS and USES of the various stories and laws and remembering that Moses used a journalistic method and had assistants, he reaches the conclusion that the task was accomplished in forty years, which critics think required five or six centuries. To his own satisfaction the traditional position is restored and the *face value* of the documents vindicated. On this view Hebrew literature has no history.

But it further appears that Hebrew language had no history. "Many, if not most, Biblical archaeologists believe that the early portions of the Old Testament, and perhaps some of the later books, were originally written in cuneiform script, the sacred writing 'the finger of God,' and in the Palestinian dialect of the Babylonian tongue, and continued in that script and tongue certainly for some time after that date; for how long is not certain. At a later date some of these books, at least, were translated into Aramaic; still later, probably in the time of Ezra, when Hebrew was not only still the colloquial dialect of Palestine, but long before had become

a literary language, a final complete translation was made into the Hebrew language and written in the Hebrew script," (cf. Naville, *Archaeology of the Bible*), p. 234.

According to this the Assyro-Babylonian "cuneiform script" was used by the early Hebrew writers, and this is called the sacred writing and 'the finger of God,' whatever that may mean. The earliest books were not written in Palestine but they were written in the Palestinian dialect of the Babylonian tongue. Some of the books were later translated into Aramaic and later still a complete translation was made into Hebrew. This is about the most absurd combination of careless writing and false statements that could possibly be crammed into such a short space. Yet no doubt there are people prepared to finance heavily this kind of thing on the supposition that it is a defence of the Bible against a sceptical higher criticism. "We shall not, however, get the best results until we stop talking or thinking about defending the Bible, and devote ourselves wholly and unreservedly and without any *arrière pensée,* in Bible study as all other study, to the search after truth for truth's sake." Dr. Peters, who makes this statement, remarks quite incidentally that "some of the letters written from Jerusalem in the fourteenth century B.C. in the Babylonian language were evidently composed by people speaking the native Canaanitish or Hebrew language, and even having explanatory glosses in that language.* The most important find in Palestine, the Moabite stone, gives a good specimen of one of these Canaanitish dialects in the ninth century, and the Siloam inscription is believed by many to belong to the eighth century. Though inscriptions from Palestine are rare there is every reason to believe that Hebrew language and literature had a long life and a real history and did not pass through the contortions suggested by Dr. Kyle. Whatever his knowledge of other languages may be, his use of English leaves much to be desired. To examine his theory in detail would require a volume, and whether it is worth that trouble may be a matter of opinion; any one who knows the

*Cf. P. Thomson, *Palästina und seine Kultur in fünf Jahrtausenden.* There it follows that the so-called Hebrew writing first arises about 1000 B.C.; we have elaborate monuments only from a still later time.

history of Biblical criticism will be likely to agree with Dr. G. A. Barton, critic and archaeologist, that it is "not a solution of the Pentateuch Problem."

On Saturday, June 3, *The Globe* contained an article over two columns in length by this gentleman; he has been travelling through Samson's country, and he finds that "a day in the Samson country is good to develop moral fibre." You have to go to the mountain top "to realize the exalted idealism that might come to a lad set here in God's providence and under God's inspiration to deliver Israel." There are in the Old Testament many real instances of lofty idealism and strong moral fibre, but they are not easy to find in the story of Samson. Dr. Kyle visited 'the altar of Manoah'; he cannot state categorically that the tradition is true, he does not know who first called attention to it, his own immediate debt is to Dr. Albright. "Perhaps we may venture to claim that *The Times* has the privilege of first bringing this monument to public notice." Gressmann refers to a rock-altar discovered by Hanauer in 1885. Père Lagrange refers t oa description of a fine stone altar in this neighbourhood which appeared in *Revue Biblique*, 1898. But the discovery of altars that have been used by Canaanites, Hebrews and Arabs while it illustrates the history of religious customs, gives no decisive help in the interpretation of the Samson-story.

One of the headings of this article is delightfully simple and sentimental: "Where Samson picked Posies for Delilah." In this poetic vein the archaeological editor of the Sunday School Times will no doubt enlighten the Chinese and show them that 'the pick and the spade are unfailing witnesses to the truth of the Bible.'

W. G. JORDAN.

CURRENT EVENTS

Ireland.

The new Irish constitution has one feature which is a novelty in British usage. It is provided that the Committee answering to the Cabinet should contain representatives of different interests. This is modelled upon the Swiss Executive Council, or Bundesrath, where it has not proved impossible for statesmen holding diverse views to work together. The advantages of this arrangement are apparent. A man of tried ability is not debarred from work for which he may have the greatest aptitude, merely on the ground that his party is out of office. And in a country of three races and two religions it obviates friction and suspicion to include members of minorities.

But constitutions are the expression of a habit of mind. If the Swiss have succeeded in carrying out the spirit of a constitution that requires good sense and the ability to compromise, it is because they have centuries of democratic tradition behind them. The pulse of party is low, and they admire capacity and sense in a statesman rather than eloquence or partisanship. So men of opposite views, who do not hesitate on occasion to differ in public, combine to carry on the business of the state with good will.

But where in all Ireland is good will or the habit of compromise to be found to-day? It is true that the present Swiss constitution sprang from a religious war. But the Swiss are no ideologues, and they had their traditional habit of conducting public business to fall back upon. The great political discovery of our day, however, is that a minority may make any constitution unworkable and frustrate any agreement, granted an idea and a passion of hate. The elections at least show that ordinary people want a rest. For years Ireland has been in the hands of what Sir James Barrie would call a League of Youth. Elsewhere Youth has, rather melodramatically, taken the pose of decrying the wicked Old Men who sent them to the war. In Ireland it is the Old Men who wring their hands powerlessly,

while Youth did, and does, his will with them. This is natural enough. The constitution has been won by guerrilla warfare, at the point of the revolver; that is a young man's trade, and a demoralizing trade. Suddenly, in a day, authority is transferred to the insurgents, and the organization formed to paralyse government is called on to govern. This was, some say, the last perfidy of the English! Without preparation or transition they left a disorganized country to inexperienced men. This would have been embarrassing in normal times. But there was no reason why the weapons used against British ascendency should not be turned against the new executive. The appetite for disorder grows by what it feeds on. Impossibilist dreamers had lived too long with their vision of a Republic; the wild women shrieked for revenge; and what other mode of life was open for corner boys who had learned the trade of the revolver? There were passions still unsated and daily stimulated afresh, and no hand, in North or in South, strong enough to check them. A gentleman, since murdered, wrote to a friend: 'If I get a sentence of death by to-morrow's post, I should not know whether I was sentenced for being a Catholic or a loyal subject of H. M.' That is Ireland to-day.

Of this reversion to savagery no party is guiltless, neither the British Government that delayed a settlement and sanctioned reprisals, nor Ulster that began to organize for war, nor the Irishmen who made murder a civic virtue. The two Governments in Ireland have to thank their own past for their impotence to-day. It is the vast mass of quiet people, who wish to live and let live, that suffer from their own liberators. The 'League of Youth' declare, through the voice of one whom men call Burgess and the gods call Brugha, that none but those who fought for Ireland have the right to decide her future. And Mr. de Valera darkly threatens to wade through the blood of Irishmen to the Republic of his dreams. One cannot tell how much is pose and how much passion in these gentlemen. But no man's home or goods or life is safe, and the very motive to work is sapped. The election is the revolt of the quiet people rather than a verdict for the Treaty. But there is no reason why the guerrillas should accept it.

Certain things, however, emerge from the confusion. It would be folly for the British Government, provided the Treaty is observed, to interfere except to keep the bounds of Ulster. That is legitimate intervention to avert worse evils. In the second place, the Provisional Government now has a majority at its back, and should be able to act with greater effect, though they will have the weapons used against the British now turned on them. But the most hopeful sign is the emergence of issues other than the constitutional one. For years internal Irish problems have been set aside for the great quarrel. Labour, for example, is well organized and considers its claims for industrial adjustment to be long overdue. Impatience as well as civilized feeling underlay the peace-strike a few weeks ago. And now the presence of 17 Labour members in the Legislature indicates that new lines of cleavage are appearing.

But after all it is hate and nerves that rule in Ireland to-day. While Belfast and Cork vie for bad preeminence in murder, it is well nigh hopeless for either Government to restore order. Whether there are two Governments in Ireland or one, there is no unity, and crimes on one side of the border inflame passion on the other in a horrible crescendo. When men set any interest or any ideal, no matter how great, above all other considerations, evil becomes their good. If there are acts that they shrink from, men rise up from the depths to perform them. *Ruit irrevocabile vulgus.* The passions must work themselves out. It passes the wit of man to stay such a descent, once it has well begun.

Genoa.

Genoa leaves Europe very much where it was, with the lines more clearly drawn and passions exacerbated. Few men are deluded by the theatrical promise of the wearied nations to refrain from war for a few months, and the general impression is that Mr. Lloyd George has rhetorically exaggerated the threat from Russia. A country so racked by pestilence and famine is no great military menace to her neighbours. Modern warfare depends upon high industrial organization; and the fear that Europe may well harbour should be turned upon

those internal conditions which are the breeding-ground of disorder.

From the very nature of the conference, it was bound to fail. Rightly or wrongly, many distrusted the method, with its alarms and excursions. Old-fashioned diplomats dislike what is the very essence of conference, the instantaneous acceptance of a proposal without time to examine all its bearings. These deals over a table are Mr. Lloyd George's forte. They leave the French irritated and uneasy, wondering where they have been done. It was certain that M. Poincaré's accession to power, apart altogether from differences of policy, meant an end to the usefulness of conferences. As matters turned out, Genoa was what Versailles might have been, had Mr. Wilson stayed in Washington. All the delegates save M. Barthou were plenipotentiaries, and Paris, away from the din, called the tune.

Not only the method, but the purpose of the Conference aroused distrust. It is a step towards the restoration of Europe. But that means touching the Treaty of Versailles, which France regards as her guarantee. No man is more responsible for the unworkable clauses and the illusory hopes of that Treaty than Mr. Lloyd George. He owes his present position to large promises only partly fulfilled in the Treaty, and the reparation clauses, which have proved a menace to European stability, and which, so far as they concern loss not strictly military, are contrary to the terms of the Armistice, are his work. If France had her departments despoiled by the war, Great Britain suffers in her industry the ravages of the Peace. No statesman (as distinguished from the despised economist) was quicker to recognize this than Mr. Lloyd George, and all his energy has been devoted to undoing a capital blunder. But his change of policy has naturally aroused intense irritation and resentment. British foreign policy habitually takes short views, in its belief that sufficient to the day is the evil thereof. Consequently the one urgent need, for British policy, is economic restoration. But France, without the burden of unemployment, clings desperately to the hope of reparations to ease her financial plight, and in the future she sees a restored Germany threatening a less popu-

lous France. So the British policy appears to France a selfish industrialism, and the French policy almost seems to prefer present ruin to the possibility of future war. Hence the rift in the Entente which was clearly defined at the Conference. In short: the two urgent questions for Europe are reparations and international indebtedness; these were excluded from the purview of the Conference by the action of France; and the absence of the United States still further limited its usefulness. Thus while everybody talked about Russia, everybody was thinking of Germany, which might not be mentioned.

The first point, however, that emerges is that all Europe was represented at Genoa, even the scapegraces of the family. This is still impossible at Geneva, that exclusive club. It is apparent that the affairs of Germany or of Russia cannot be satisfactorily discussed in the absence of their representatives. This is so far a gain.

In the second place the two chief partners of the Entente, for reasons noted above, headed the rival factions. Even more than Washington, Genoa betrayed how wide the rift had become. This is not an unmixed evil, since a clear grasp of the divergence of policy is most desirable. If France has thwarted Mr. Lloyd George's hope for a good election cry from Genoa, her irreconcilability has diminished her prestige. The effect upon average British opinion (which is not represented by the *Times* and the *Morning Post*) may be seen in the extremely frank speech of Mr. Bonar Law, delivered—of all occasions!—at a dinner to the French ambassador.

The Treaty of Rapallo threatened to break up the Conference before it had well begun. No excuse, however plausible, can palliate a first-class blunder. It may be true that the arrangement was virtually completed in Berlin and that it was common knowledge among diplomats; it may be true that the Germans signed the treaty fearing that the separate conversations between the Allies and Russia would disregard their interests, nevertheless the actual signature, coming at the moment it did, was a gesture of defiance and a threat. It is needless to speculate about the military dangers that may be behind this settlement. The plain fact is that the

agreement, cancelling past obligations, prejudiced the case of France, and increased a tension already great. However, Mr. Lloyd George managed to keep the ship off the rocks, and a rebuke sufficed.

The most instructive side of the Conference was the revelation of the Russian mind. All the truculence and insolence of the Bolshevik delegates hardly veiled the admission that Russia needs the rest of Europe, even capitalist Europe. To meet that there was the conviction on the part of the British delegation that a Russia isolated from the European system was a menace for the future. Here again the division of interests that hampered the Conference became acute. There are two theoretical questions which are not of prime importance. It appears, for example, urgent to the economic conservatism of the United States that the Bolsheviks should announce a change of heart; it appears imperative to the French that they should admit an indebtedness they can pay at the Greek calends. To the British delegation, as usual, more immediate considerations were vital. The world was faced with a revolution compared to which the French Revolution was insignificant, a revolution which involved, like the French Revolution, an extensive overturn of rights—this was a debating point not calculated to mollify the French! The revolution had failed economically, and it was necessary for Europe, in her own interest, to help to restore the wreck. Otherwise there was a genuine danger that the two outlaws might draw together against Europe. A policy then was required which would, for diplomatic reasons, refrain from exacting an explicit recantation from the Bolsheviks. The main point is that Russia must have credit, and indeed insolently demands it; but Germany cannot give credit, and other nations will not unless they are reasonably certain that it will not disappear into the bottomless gulf. This is the practical issue insisted on by the British delegates. But the opposition on the formal preliminary questions was too strong, and the matter was referred to another Conference!

It is of course futile to deal with the Russian problem alone. All questions lead back to the profound dislocation of international trade, that is, to international indebtedness and

therefore to reparations. The immediate reparations crisis on May 31 has been postponed, notwithstanding the strong language of M. Poincaré at Bar-le-Duc. We gather from an evidently inspired article in the *Times* that the French Government, while maintaining their right to seize the Ruhr district without her allies, does not desire to use that right without consultation, and recognizes that such military action, though useful as a threat, would actually impair Germany's credit, and therefore her power to pay.

We need not repeat the French argument on reparations. The heart of it is her damaged provinces and her own financial condition. But the urgent matter is this: that notwithstanding apparent individual wealth, German national credit is near extinction. With its extinction Central Europe dissolves into chaos, and where are reparations then? A loan is needed to restore, to enable Germany to pay France anything. But the bankers engaged in examining the question have declared against a loan and adjourned. It is obvious that they could not undertake the hazard so long as reparations are undefined? That is the overshadowing issue which the last three years have brought upon the world.

The task for Great Britain is hardly simple, and the country is handicapped in the eyes of France by the inconsistency of her Prime Minister. But it is plain that the prior claim of France for her devastated provinces should be admitted, and that our claim for civil damages should be abandoned. There is the further question of the French debt to Great Britain. The Finance Committee at Genoa agreed that the problem of 'inter-governmental indebtedness' must be faced before currency can be restored or Europe emerge from economic chaos. At present there are irritating claims, which cannot be met and which befog the real situation. The greatest of them is that of the United States against Europe. Financiers are by this time, we imagine, much of a mind about them. But how persuade the average congressman or the average voter that foreign debts are fairy gold?

A. S. F.

The apparatus of life plays odd tricks with men. They slip unawares into a blind servitude to it, thinking themselves its masters. And above all, machinery has the power to subdue. These monstrous extensions of our arms and legs have changed the social pattern, drained the country into the town, given the illusion of progress without its substance, and have come within an ace of paralysing the civilization they created. This fascination of powerful externals is natural enough. For machinery expresses two of the greatest passions of man —the desire for order and the desire for power. Order, as the Greeks knew who lived on the edge of chaos, is at the core of civilization, and barbarism is disorder and weakness. But the supreme order, desired by all good men, gives play in due measure to all the noble and lovely human values. It is hard to adjust the lower order and the higher, and some writers, like Ruskin and Morris, have spent themselves in revolt against the inevitable. Others have become fascinated by the interplay between the spirit of man and the spirit of the machine, with results interesting to note.

Mr. Kipling's strongest trait, I take it, is an overmastering passion for order. The system, the custom, the command, the code—this is his daily and nightly meditation. The very sense of proportion that cuts and shapes his tales like gems indicates his bias. But the passion, one may conjecture, has impoverished his art. Even his form of humour, not oversubtle as it is, betrays this preoccupation. It depends on the sudden impact of disorderliness upon a settled and prescribed routine. If you are in the system, what a lark to poke fun at it and elude it, knowing like Stalkey & Co., that it will stand the strain. But that is not such a jest as to portray someone who does not really belong to the system, however he may delude himself into believing that he does, and to watch him entangled and sprawling in its meshes. Or there is the more sedate joy—a trap for Mr. Kipling's sentimentalism—of initiating some outsider into the queer little ways of the system till he becomes insensibly an unquestioning part of it. It is the delight in the code as it works, with all its rules and forms, that gives Mr. Kipling his unsurpassed sense of the continuity of English

life; more unfortunately it breaks out occasionally into a repellent knowingness, as if the showman had gained the upper hand of the artist. If you require examples, take the young American millionaire who had so studiously trained himself to become the complete Englishman. But he was not inside the skin—and he flagged the Great Buchonian express. The most natural thing in the world for the son of a railway magnate in a hurry to fetch a scarab from London; but how hammer a sense of its "normalcy" into the obtuse official mind that construed such an unimaginable interference with the machine as insanity. Or there was that other millionaire, so imperceptibly drawn, part by liking and part by shepherding, into the placid routine of English country life. If only it were not so patently an initiation; if only the writer had spared us the crowning sentimentality, the discovery of a battered family piece of plate that proved the outsiders to belong to the fold, after all!

Conceive a writer of genius with an eye for detail far more penetrating than his insight, and a zest for order modelled by circumstances upon the simple relation of superior to inferior, the order of discipline and command. Like a too perfect housewife, he may sacrifice all for tidiness. Does Mr. Kipling's world shrink through this devotion to the simple, the direct and orderly? There is some reason for the long decline (noted by Henry James) from Anglo-Indians to soldiers, from soldiers to natives, from natives to children, from children to animals, and from animals to nuts and screws. Great men deepen with age, but Mr. Kipling has disported himself in waters that become ever shallower. The ship finds herself, the locomotive is initiated into the law with an ease and swiftness that wayward man cannot emulate. His machines talk like men. Glory be to Allah; but is it worth the price?

Mr. Wells has long outgrown the desire to make humanity go on rails. Why rails, when the air is conquered? Order, too, is his divinity; but it is the order to come, not that of things as they are. Mr. Kipling's heroes, as they pause in the task of schooling and drilling wild men, look to the settled country life that is their reward for labour done. It is just this country routine that inflames Mr. Wells's urban mind. A caste maintaining a traditional social pattern is as monstrous as

a machine that has outlived its use. When he inveighs against spurs, that feudal relic in an age of tanks, he strikes two enemies with one blow. Mechane is for him the greatest of the Muses, who will make the waste places blossom like the rose, and (even better) make the crooked straight. But Mr. Wells is saved, even in his own despite, from a too Fabian tidiness. He has the most plastic of minds. Some would say that this was due to a fundamental lack of grip. But I imagine that there is also a psychological reason. Does his work bear traces of a life-long effort to reduce a surd in human nature, to reconcile order and passion? This is the preoccupation of his heroes; witness the collapse of the New Machiavelli, guarded at all points save one. They seek by way of compensation to impose a coherence and system upon society that is lacking in their own souls. With the worm gnawing at the heart, they externalize themselves, civilizing, socializing, moralizing—these creative minds. But then, their Augean task half begun, the heroes fly with Omphale to Switzerland, or Labrador, or the North Pole, where life is, let us hope, a little easier for heroes. This is simplification with a vengeance! Or consider another kind of flight. In *Tono-Bungay* the narrator sickens of the muddle of parasitic business and passion that entangles him. Mechane, the saviour-Muse, restores his intellectual integrity, and the curtain falls on him testing a destroyer of his own design: as it slips down the Thames to the sea, the contrast between the great mass of London, so old, so shapeless, so impossible to mould afresh, and this perfect instrument that answers to a touch stands as a symbol. But, of course, the refuge with Mechane is simply another Labrador to hide one's head from life. It would be unjust to represent this as Mr. Wells's solution. But does he not think in his heart that Black can somehow be mated in three moves, and turn over the board in a pet when the solution won't come?

Mr. Arnold Bennett is no merchant of ideas like Mr. Wells. He is one of the most competent of English writers, because he is a most competent man. Unembarrassed by illusions about the past or extravagant hopes, he is content to umpire the human scene. He knows life to be the greatest of games, and had a lively appreciation of its play-things, money and machines and Persian apparatus. Of that kind of thing he is

the complete showman, whose zest for the scene never falls off. He is sometimes reproached for his photographic realism, sometimes for that Jekyll and Hyde existence that he passes between the serious life of the Five Towns, and the London extravaganzas. But he is really all of a piece. Everything is an expression of life, and a "card" from the Five Towns would be disqualified if he missed a single point of the game. If he has a foible, it is savoir faire and savoir vivre, and the only person of whom one can imagine him (as a writer) standing in awe, is the head waiter of the Grand Babylon Hotel, who is, like all perfect functionaries, worldly wisdom in the flesh.

The modern apparatus of "service" is Mr. Bennett's peculiar joy, a joy not untinged with irony. In old days with what zest he would describe the shining taps and gilded radiators, latest marvels of the plumber's art, in some Five Towns' bathroom. This provincial gusto he has carried, still fresh and eager, to the wonders with which London and Paris outshine Bagdad. How well one knows the formula of these new Arabian Nights. A millionaire owning a great caravanserai, a young woman miraculously left a fortune—and straightway they are whirled into the most marvellous of all games. One likes to picture Mr. Bennett's heroes and heroines, newly decked by the impeccable artists of Bond Street or the Rue de la Paix, and furnished with an inexhaustible cheque book, gliding in an immense and luxurious car to the portal of the Grand Babylon, that "prodigious" caravanserai. They pass the "gigantic uniformed guards," the crystal doors revolve of themselves; they move nonchalantly through a "palatial" hall and are swiftly wafted aloft to a "superb" suite where the noble bath of marble is but a sample of the splendours that will in due course appear in the negligible bill. So the procession of life moves on, with magic carpets and attendant discreet genii, in a world where everything opens to the touch of gold.

Everything? Well, perhaps not. Mr. Bennett savours the incredible complications of urban life, cars and titles and head waiters, knowing that its enchantment lies in its futility. But he is an ironist and a humanist with a hard Northern fibre. One might be tempted to class his latest novel,

Mr. Prohack, with lighter romances, were it not for an undertone of criticism, criticism light and deft enough. This is a decade when fortunes tumble into the laps of some. Mr. Prohack, a high Treasury official and the 'terror of the departments', was contemplating resignation from one of his two clubs as a measure of economy when an immense sum was shot at him, so to speak, from the blue. This is the justifiable improbability that readers must grant Mr. Bennett in return for the dance he will lead them. Forthwith Mr. Prohack is no longer his own master; he is caught up by the complex apparatus that money commands. His wife and his doctor discover an obscure ailment that demands rest from the Treasury. The terror of the departments cannot command his own purse-strings. A car and a chauffeur appear from nowhere; despite his struggles the family abandon the comfortable home in Kensington for the splendours of Manchester Square; and he is whirled, a smiling philosophic victim, into the round of useless pleasures that make life so unendurable. Wife and son and daughter develop with astounding rapidity before his amused and disconcerted gaze. The son is particularly interesting as an after-the-war type. He returned from the war determined to serve his country; but no one wanted him. Then a little capital, and an eye for opportunity, makes him too a millionaire. But he is 'fed up' with England, and his revenge is to buy a palatial yacht where he keeps a score of men idle, polishing brass and attending to his wants for a few hours a month—one can imagine the zest with which Mr. Bennett describes the yacht! Its magnificent uselessness is the symbol of the apparatus that entangles the superfluous rich. We say farewell, rather reluctantly, to Mr. Prohack as he prepares to embark in business. So after all he fulfils the destiny of eminent civil servants in retirement. The tale is a satire and a parable, but what a diverting one!

XANTHIAS.

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